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VICTOR HUGO.

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VOLUME XXVII

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VOLTAIRE

ANCIENT AND MODERN HISTORY

IN SEVEN VOLUMES

VOL. IV

CHARLES V., 1512—PHILIP II., 1584

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ANCIENT AND MODERN HISTORY.

CHAPTER CI.

CHARLES V. AND FRANCIS I. UNTIL THE ELECTION OF CHARLES TO THE EMPIRE IN 1519 — EMPEROR MAXIMILIAN'S PROJECT TO GET HIMSELF ELECTED POPE — THE BATTLE OF MARIGNANO.

At the time that Charles V. came to the possession of the imperial throne, the empire was no longer at the disposal of the popes, as it formerly had been, and the emperors had relinquished their claims upon Rome. These reciprocal pretensions resembled the empty titles of king of France, which the English monarchs still continue to assume, and of king of Navarre, which is still retained by the king of France.

The parties of the Guelphs and Ghibellines were almost entirely forgotten. Maximilian had acquired only a few towns in Italy, which he had taken from the Venetians in consequence of his success in the League of Cambray; but he discovered a new method of bringing both Rome and Italy under the dominion of the emperors; which

was, to get himself elected pope after the death of Julius II., as he was a widower by the death of his wife, who was daughter of Galeas Maria Sforza, duke of Milan. There are still to be seen two letters, written by him in 1512; one to his daughter Margaret, regent of the Low Countries, and the other to the lord of Chièvres, fully displaying this intention.

Who can tell what might have happened, if the imperial and pontifical crowns had been placed on one head? The system of Europe would have undergone great changes, as it did, though in a different manner, under Charles V. Immediately upon the death of Maximilian, when the affair of indulgences and Luther's schism began to divide Germany, Francis I., king of France, and Charles of Austria, king of Spain, the Two Sicilies, and Navarre, and sovereign of the seventeen provinces of the Low Country, openly canvassed for the empire, at the time when Germany, threatened with an invasion from the Turk, stood in need of such a chief as Francis, or Charles of Austria. The imperial crown had never before been disputed by such potent princes. Francis I., who was older than his competitor by five years, seemed the most deserving of it, from the great actions which he had lately performed.

Immediately after his accession to the crown of France, in 1515, the republic of Genoa had, through the cabals of its own citizens, put itself again under

the French dominion; upon which Francis hastened into Italy, as his predecessors had done.

The first thing to be done was to conquer Milan, which had been lost by Louis XII., and wrest it again from the unfortunate family of the Sforzas. In this enterprise he was joined by the Venetians, who wanted to recover Verona, which had been taken from them by Maximilian; and he had against him Pope Leo X., an active and intriguing man, and the emperor Maximilian, now worn out with age, and incapable of doing anything: but his most dangerous opponents were the Swiss, who were always at enmity with France since their disputes with Louis XII., and continually spirited up by Matthew Schâner, cardinal of Sion, and who at that time took the title of defenders of the pontiffs, and protectors of the Italian princes; titles which had for over ten years been more than imaginary.

While the king was marching toward Milan he continued to amuse them with negotiations; and the cardinal of Sion, on his side, who had taught this nation the arts of dissimulation and deceit, amused the king with vain promises, till the Swiss, having certain advice of the arrival of the military chest, thought they might at one stroke make themselves masters of this treasure and the king's person, and deliver Italy from its fears.

Accordingly in 1515 twenty-five thousand Swiss, wearing St. Peter's key as a badge on their shoul-

ders and breasts, and armed, partly with long spears, and partly with large two-handed swords, fell suddenly, with a great cry, upon the king's camp at Marignano. This was the most obstinate and bloody battle that had ever been fought in Italy. The French and Swiss, confounded with one another in the darkness of the night, waited for daylight to renew the combat. We know that the king slept upon the breech of a cannon, within fifty paces of one of the enemy's battalions. In this battle the Swiss always attacked, and the French stood on the defensive; which is in my opinion a sufficient proof that the French may, on some occasions, be possessed of that passive courage which is sometimes as necessary as the impetuous ardor by which they are generally distinguished. It was particularly noble to see a young prince only twenty-one years of age, so cool and steady during so sharp and long an engagement. As the battle lasted so long, it was hardly possible for the Swiss to gain the victory, because the black bands of Germany, who were then with the king, formed an infantry as firm as their own, and they had no horsemen. It is even surprising that they were able, for two days together, to stand against the attacks of those large war-horses, which were continually charging their broken battalions. Marshal de Trivulca called this battle the fight of the giants. It was generally agreed, that the honor of this victory was chiefly owing to the famous constable, Charles of Bour-

bon, who was afterward so ill rewarded, and carried his revenge to such extremities. The Swiss at length gave way, but without suffering a total defeat, and fled, leaving over ten thousand of their countrymen on the field of battle, and abandoned the Milanese to the conquerors. Maximilian Sforza was carried prisoner into France, as Louis the Moor had been, but on more gentle terms; for he became a subject, whereas Louis was a captive; and this sovereign of the finest country in Italy was suffered to live in France on a moderate pension.

Francis, after this victory of Marignano and the conquest of the Milanese, entered into an alliance with Pope Leo X. and even with the Swiss nation, who at length chose to furnish the French with troops, rather than to fight against them. He obliged the emperor Maximilian, by dint of arms, to restore Verona to the Venetians, which they have ever since continued to possess. He procured the duchy of Urbino for Leo X., which still belongs to the Church: in short, he was at that time looked upon as master of Italy, and the greatest prince in Europe, and as a person the most worthy of the empire, which he stood for after the death of Maximilian. Fame had not as yet sounded the name of young Charles of Austria, which was one reason that determined the electors to give him the preference. They were apprehensive of being held too much in subjection by the king of France; whereas they did not so much fear the power of a master,

whose dominions, though very extensive, lay at a considerable distance from each other. Charles then was elected emperor, in 1519, notwithstanding that Francis I. had laid out four hundred thousand crowns in purchasing the suffrages.

CHAPTER CII.

CHARLES V. AND FRANCIS I. UNTIL THE BATTLE OF PAVIA.

EVERYONE knows the great rivalry which from this time arose between these two princes; and, indeed, how could they be otherwise than continually at war with each other? Charles, as sovereign of the Low Countries, had a claim on Artois and several other towns; and as king of Naples and Sicily, beheld Francis I. ready to claim those dominions on the same title as Louis XII. As king of Spain he had Navarre to defend, which he had usurped; and lastly, in quality of emperor, he could not but defend the great fief of Milan against the pretensions of the house of France. How many reasons were here for laying Europe waste!

Pope Leo X. at first endeavored to hold the balance between these two powerful rivals. But how could he do it? Whom was he to choose for vassal, and king of the Two Sicilies — Charles or Francis? What would become of the ancient law made by the pontiffs in the thirteenth century, "That no king of Naples could ever be emperor?" Leo was

not sufficiently powerful to enforce the execution of this law, which, however respected it might be at Rome, was not so in the empire. The pope then was very soon obliged to grant Charles V. that dispensation which he thought proper to ask, and to receive a vassal who made him tremble; but no sooner had he granted it than he heartily repented of what he had done.

That balance which Leo was for holding, was actually in the hands of Henry VIII. Accordingly the emperor and the king of France courted his friendship, and both of them endeavored to gain over his prime minister and favorite, Cardinal Wolsey.

Francis I. began by settling that famous interview with the king of England, near Calais. After this, in 1520, Charles left Spain to pay a visit to Henry at Canterbury, and Henry conducted him at his return as far as Calais and Gravelines.

It was natural for the king of England to side with the emperor, for by joining with him, he had a prospect of getting back those provinces in France which had formerly been the patrimony of his ancestors; whereas, by entering into an alliance with Francis, he could gain nothing in Germany, where he had no pretensions.

While he was thus spinning out time, Francis began this never-ending quarrel by seizing upon Navarre. And here, though I should never think of losing sight of the sketch of Europe, for the sake

of hunting after authorities to refute the assertions of some historians; yet I cannot forbear observing how much Puffendorf is sometimes mistaken. He says that this attempt upon Navarre was made in the year 1516, immediately after the death of Ferdinand the Catholic, by John d'Albret, who had been driven from that kingdom; and adds, 'that Charles had always before his eyes his *plus ultra,* and was every day forming great designs. Now, here are a number of mistakes. In 1516 Charles was only fifteen years of age, and had not then assumed his device of *plus ultra;* lastly, it was not John d'Albret who invaded Navarre in 1516, after the death of Ferdinand, for John himself died in that very year; it was Francis I. who made the transient conquest of this kingdom in the name of Henry d'Albret, not in 1516, but in 1521.

Neither Charles VIII., Louis XII., nor Francis I. kept the conquests they made. Navarre was hardly subdued, when it was taken again by the Spaniards; and from that time the French were obliged to be continually fighting against the Spanish troops in all the extremities of the kingdom, on the borders of Fontarabia, Flanders, and Italy; and affairs remained in this situation till the beginning of our present century.

At the time that Charles' Spanish troops were conquering Navarre, his German troops penetrated into Picardy, and his emissaries were raising the Italians in his favor.

Pope Leo, who was always fluctuating between Francis I. and Charles V., was at this time in the emperor's interest. He had had reason to complain of the French, for having endeavored to take Reggio from him as a part of the territories of Milan, and they had made their new neighbors their enemies by several unseasonable acts of violence. Lautrec, governor of Milan, had caused the lord of Pallavicini to be quartered, on suspicion of having attempted to raise an insurrection of the Milanese, and had given his forfeited estates to his own brother, de Foix. This caused a universal discontent, which the French administration took no care to appease, either by prudent laws, or by sending over a necessary sum of money.

It availed them nothing that they had a number of Swiss in their pay; the imperial army had the same; and the famous cardinal of Sion, who was always so fatal to the kings of France, having found means to send those who were in the French army home to their own country, Lautrec, the governor of Milan, was soon driven from his capital, and afterward quite out of the country. At this time Leo X. died, just as his temporal monarchy was becoming strong and the spiritual one falling to decay.

The power of Charles V., and the wisdom of his council now appeared in their full lustre. He had sufficient interest to get his preceptor, Adrian, elected pope, though a native of Utrecht, and in a

manner unknown at Rome. His council also, which was far superior to that of Francis I. in abilities, artfully stirred up Henry VIII. against France, who hoped at least to be able to dismember that country of which his ancestors had formerly been in possession. Charles made a voyage to England in person, to forward the armament, and hasten its departure; soon afterward he contrived to detach the Venetians from their alliance with France, and bring them over to his interest; and, to complete the whole, a faction which he maintained in Genoa, assisted by his troops, expelled the French, and elected a new doge, who put himself under the emperor's protection. Thus, by his superior power and skill, did he hem in and press the French monarchy on all sides.

Under these circumstances Francis I., who lavished great sums on his pleasures, and kept but little money for his necessary affairs, was obliged to take a massive grate of silver, with which Louis XI. had surrounded the tomb of St. Martin at Tours, and which weighed nearly seven thousand marks. The money was certainly of more use to the state than to St. Martin, but a shift of this kind was a mark of pressing necessity. Some years before he had sold twenty new counsellors' places in the Parliament of Paris. This setting up of justice at auction, and carrying off the ornaments of the tombs, plainly showed a great disorder in the finances. He now saw himself alone against all

Europe; and yet so far was he from being discouraged, that he made resistance in every part, and provided so effectually for the security of the frontiers of Picardy, that the English could never force an entrance into France, though they had Calais, the key of the kingdom, in their hands. He kept matters upon an equal footing in Flanders, and suffered no encroachment on the side of Spain: in short, though he had no place but the castle of Cremona left in Italy, this resolute monarch resolved to go in person and reduce the Milanese, that fatal object of ambition with the kings of France.

But neither St. Martin's grate, nor the sale of twenty new counsellors' places, were sufficient to answer so many different calls, and to provide for an attempt upon the Milanese, attacked as he was on all sides. The royal demesnes were therefore now for the first time alienated, and an increase made in taxes of all kinds. This was one great advantage that the kings of France had over their neighbors; Charles V. could not carry his absolute authority to this length in his dominions; but this fatal power of ruining themselves was the source of numberless evils to France.

Among other causes of the misfortunes which befell Francis I. we may reckon his injustice to the constable of Bourbon, to whom he was indebted for the victory of Marignano. It was not thought sufficient to mortify him on all occasions, but Louisa of Savoy, duchess of Angoulême, the king's mother,

being desirous of marrying the constable, who had lately become a widower, and having been refused by him, resolved to ruin the man she could not wed; and instituted a suit against him, which was deemed highly unjust by all the lawyers of those times, and which no other but a powerful queen-mother could have gained.

This suit was for no less than all the possessions of the family of Bourbon. The judges suffered themselves to be prevailed on by the queen's solicitations, and, by a sentence of sequestration, stripped the constable at once of all his estates, who thereupon sent his friend, the bishop of Autun, to request the king to put a stop to the proceedings; but the king would not even see the bishop. Upon this the constable, who had already been strongly solicited by Charles V. to enter into his service, in a fit of despair and anger, accepted the offer. It would have been truly heroic in him to have continued to do his duty to his country, though ill treated; but there is another kind of heroism, that of revenge; unfortunately, Charles of Bourbon made choice of the latter, quitted France, and entered into the emperor's service. Few men ever tasted the fatal pleasure of revenge more fully than himself.

The constable was immediately made generalissimo of the armies of the empire, and repaired to Milan, which had been entered by the French under Admiral Bonnivet, his greatest enemy. A general who knew the strength and weakness of all the troops of

France could not but have a great advantage; but Charles had a still greater; almost all the Italian princes were in his interest; the people hated the French government; and lastly, he had the best generals in Europe in his service; such as Marquis de Pescara, Lannoy, and John de Medici, names famous even in these times.

Admiral Bonnivet could by no means stand in competition with these generals; and had he even been superior to them in ability, he was far inferior in the number and quality of his troops, which besides were very ill paid; he was therefore quickly compelled to fly, and was attacked in his retreat at Biagrasse. The famous Chevalier Bayard,[1] who

[1] Pierre du Terrail, chevalier de Bayard, who was a real knight-errant and deemed the flower of chivalry, descended from an ancient and honorable family in Dauphiny. His great-grandfather's father fell at the feet of King John in the battle of Poitiers; his great-grandfather was slain at the battle of Agincourt; his grandfather lost his life in the battle of Montlhéry; and his father was desperately wounded in the battle of Guinegate, commonly called the battle of the Spurs. The chevalier himself had signalized himself from his youth by incredible acts of personal valor; first of all at the battle of Fornovo: in the reign of Louis XII. he, with his single arm, defended the bridge at Naples against two hundred knights: in the reign of Francis I. he fought so valiantly at the battle of Marignano, under the eye of his sovereign, that, after the action, Francis insisted upon being knighted by his hand, after the manner of chivalry. Having given his king the slap on the shoulder, and dubbed him knight, he addressed himself to his sword in these terms: "How happy art thou, in having this day conferred the order of knighthood on such

though he never commanded in chief, was truly deserving the surname of "The Knight without Fear or Reproach," was mortally wounded in this engagement, in which the French were put to rout. Almost every reader knows that, when Charles of Bourbon, on seeing him in this condition, expressed his concern for him, the dying Bayard made him this reply: "It is not I who am to be pitied, but yourself, who fight against your king and country."

This prince's desertion had nearly proved the ruin of the kingdom. He had certain litigious claims upon Provence, which he might secure to himself by the force of arms, in the room of the real rights of which he had been bereft by the sentence of the

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a virtuous and powerful monarch. Certes, my good sword, thou shalt henceforth be kept as a relic, and honored above all others, and never will I wear thee except against the infidels." So saying, he cut a caper twice, and then sheathed his sword. He behaved with such extraordinary courage and conduct on a great number of delicate occasions, that he was promoted to the rank of lieutenant-general, and held in universal esteem. It was at the retreat of Rebec that his back was broken with a musket shot. Perceiving himself mortally wounded, he exclaimed: "Jesus, my God, I am a dead man." Then he kissed the cross of his sword, repeated some prayers aloud, caused himself to be laid under a tree, with a stone supporting his head, and his face toward the enemy, observing that he would not, in the last scene of his life, begin to turn his back on the enemy. He sent a dutiful message to the king by the lord of Alegre; and having made a military will by word of mouth, was visited and caressed by the constable of Bourbon and Marquis de Pescara. He died on the spot, in the forty-eighth year of his age.

court. Charles V. had promised him the ancient kingdom of Arles, of which Provence would be the chief part. King Henry VIII. gave him one hundred thousand crowns a month, for the expenses of this year's war. He had taken Toulon, in 1524, and was now besieging Marseilles. Francis I. had doubtless great reason to repent of what he had done; but affairs were not as yet desperate; he had still a flourishing army on foot, with which he hastened to the relief of Marseilles, and having driven the enemy out of Provence, he fell again upon the duchy of Milan. The constable then returned to Germany, to raise fresh troops; and for some time during this interval Francis I. thought himself master of Italy.

CHAPTER CIII.

FRANCIS I. TAKEN PRISONER — THE TAKING OF ROME — SOLYMAN REPULSED — PRINCIPALITIES CONFERRED — INQUIRY WHETHER CHARLES V. AIMED AT UNIVERSAL MONARCHY — SOLYMAN PROCLAIMED KING OF PERSIA IN BABYLON.

We now come to one of the most striking examples of those turns of fortune, which are in fact no other than the necessary concatenation of all events in the world. While Charles V., on the one side, was employed in Spain in regulating the ranks of his subjects, and forming the etiquette; on the other, Francis I., already famous throughout Europe by his

victory at Marignano, and as courageous as Chevalier Bayard, accompanied by his heroic nobles, and at the head of a fine army, was in the midst of Milan. Pope Clement VII. who, not without good reason stood in fear of the emperor, openly declared for the king of France; and John de Medici, one of the greatest generals of that age, fought for him at the head of a chosen body of veteran troops, and yet he was defeated at Pavia, Feb. 24, 1525; and although he performed acts of valor which were alone sufficient to immortalize his name, was made a prisoner, together with the chief nobles of his king. To add to his misfortune, he was taken by the only French officer who had followed the duke of Bourbon; and this very man whom he had condemned at Paris, was now master of his life.[1] This gentleman, whose

[1] Francis, in person, at the head of two thousand men-at-arms, charged with such impetuosity that Pescara was unhorsed and dangerously wounded, and the whole body he commanded must have been ruined, had not he been succored by the duke de Bourbon, who had already made a terrible carnage, and now fell upon the French men-at-arms with irresistible fury. All that the great officers now surviving could do was to assemble and defend the person of their sovereign, who fought like a knight-errant, sword in hand. La Pélisse, la Trimoille, Galeas de Sanseverino, and Bonnivet, fell by his side, and he was surrounded by the imperial cavalry, the officers of which, perceiving by his armor that he was some person of great rank, resolved to take him alive, and for that purpose slew his horse. In his fall he received a wound in the leg, notwithstanding which he started up, and still fought on foot with surprising prowess. Pomperant, who had accom-

name was Pomperant, had once the honor of preserving him from death, and making him his pris-

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panied the duke of Bourbon in his revolt, chancing to come up, and seeing the king in such a dangerous situation, drew his sword and, joining Francis, helped to keep off the soldiers who pressed upon him in order to take him alive; at the same time he desired that the duke of Bourbon might be called to receive the king as a prisoner. Francis, transported with rage, declared he would rather die than deliver his sword to a traitor; then turning to Pomperant, "Send for Lannoy, viceroy of Naples," said he, "to him I will surrender." That officer accordingly approaching, the king said to him in the Italian language: "M. de Lannoy, there is the sword of a king who deserves some commendation, seeing, before he parts with it, that he has made use of it in shedding the blood of many of your army, and who is not a prisoner through cowardice, but the accidents of fortune." Lannoy received the sword upon his knees, and respectfully kissed his hand; then presented the king with his own sword, saying: "I beg your majesty will be so good as to receive mine, which has this day spared the lives of many Frenchmen; it does not become the emperor's officer to leave a king disarmed, even though a prisoner." He was immediately conveyed to the viceroy's tent, where his wounds were dressed, and he was treated with all possible respect. Lannoy is said to have begged his majesty to see the duke of Bourbon, who at his request was admitted, and, kneeling, kissed his hand: but some historians assert that he positively refused to see the traitor. He should not have provoked the duke's resentment by acts of tyranny and injustice, which by the law of nature cancel the obligation of allegiance, for the duties of allegiance and protection are reciprocal. Next day Francis was conducted to the strong fortress of Pizighitone, where he remained for some time under the guard of Alrazon, the Spanish governor of the place, who observed toward him all the punctilios of decorum.

oner. It is certain that the duke of Bourbon, one of his victors, came that very day to pay him a visit, and to enjoy his triumph over a fallen enemy. But this interview was not the only misfortune which Francis had to encounter on that fatal day. Never was letter more true than that which this prince wrote to the queen, his mother, after the battle: "Madame, all is lost, our honor excepted." Everything seemed to foretell his inevitable ruin. His frontiers were unguarded, his treasury exhausted, a general consternation prevailed throughout all orders of the state, and violent dissensions in the council of the queen, who was regent during his absence. Lastly, the king of England threatened France with an invasion, and to revive the fatal times of Edward III. and Henry V.

Charles V., without having as yet unsheathed his sword, kept a king and a hero prisoner in his capital of Madrid: and here Charles for once seems to have neglected his good fortune; for, instead of entering France in person, to take advantage of the victory his generals had gained in Italy, he remained idle in Spain; and instead of seizing Milan for himself, he thought it necessary to bestow the investiture of that duchy on Francis Sforza, that he might not give umbrage to the rest of Italy. Henry VIII., likewise, instead of joining with Charles to dismember France, became jealous of his rising greatness, and entered into a treaty with the queen regent. In a word, the captivity of Francis I., which to all

appearance should have occasioned such great revolutions, produced only a ransom, mutual reproaches, the lie given, and idle challenges,[1] which

[1] In the year 1528, the kings of France and England having declared war against the emperor, by the mouths of two heralds admitted to a public audience, Charles in his reply declared that Francis had broken his word, and charged the French herald to remind his master of the proposal which he (the emperor) had made two years before, namely, that their difference should be determined by single combat. Francis no sooner received this message, than he sent a written challenge to the emperor by a herald, who recited it aloud to him, and in public, at Valladolid. Charles not only accepted it without hesitation, but immediately despatched a herald, called Bourgogne, to Paris with a written paper, proposing that the duel should be fought in a little island of the river that runs by Fontarabia. Bourgogne with much difficulty obtained an audience of Francis, seated on his throne, in the midst of his princes and nobility: but before he opened his lips, the French king told him he had nothing to do but give security for the field of battle. The herald assured him that he would; but desired permission to say what he had in charge from the emperor. The king declared he would hear nothing but the assignment and security of the place, and retired to another apartment, whither he was followed by Bourgogne, who observed that if he would not hear him, he could not pretend to deliver the cartel, nor specify the place. He said he had a writing which would inform his majesty; but for his part he could not separate what might appear superfluous from what was necessary; and he demanded, that he should either have the same permission which was granted to the French heralds in Spain, or receive an authentic act of these transactions for his own justification. This last was granted, together with a safe-conduct for his return: but still he continued to solicit an audience, protesting that the paper described the place of

threw a kind of ridicule on these terrible events, and seemed to degrade the two chief personages in Christendom.

It is true, that by the unhappy Treaty of Madrid in 1526, the captive king gave up Burgundy; but he soon afterward was sufficiently powerful to refuse to comply with this article of the treaty. He lost the lordships of Flanders and Artois; but that was only losing an empty homage. His two sons remained prisoners in his room, as hostages for his performance of the treaty; but he purchased their liberty for a sum of money; indeed, their ransom cost two millions of gold crowns, which greatly distressed the kingdom at that time. If we consider what it cost France to ransom Francis I., King John, and St. Louis, and how much money was wasted by the duke of Anjou, brother of Charles, and the French king, and the sums expended in the wars against the English, we shall find it a subject of astonishment that Francis should find so many resources afterward. These, however, were owing

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combat; that the king was bound in honor either to receive it with his own hand, or allow it to be published; and that it would be his fault if the duel was not actually fought. In a word, such was the perseverance and industry of this officious messenger that he would not leave the kingdom until he was threatened with hanging, and even a gibbet erected for that purpose. Such is the account which Antonio de Vera gives of this transaction; from which it would appear that Francis I., notwithstanding his boasted heroism, and the advantages of person he had over Charles, was not at all inclined to this method of determination.

to the successive acquisitions of Dauphiny, Provence, and Brittany, and the annexing of the duchy of Burgundy to the crown, and to the flourishing condition of the French trade, which helped in some measure to repair the misfortunes of the war, and the kingdom enabled to bear up against the great successes of Charles V.[1]

Fortune, which had thrown a king into his power, made him the next year master of the person of Pope Clement VII. without his having had the least share in bringing it about, or, indeed, without his having so much as thought of it. The apprehension of his power had united against him the pope, the king of England, and half of Italy. The same duke of Burgundy that had been so fatal an enemy to Francis I. proved the same to Clement VII. He commanded on the frontiers of Milan, with an army composed of Spaniards, Italians, and Germans. This army had been victorious, but was very badly paid, and in want of everything: he therefore proposed to his officers and men, to march to Rome and plunder that city by way of payment; a plan of the

[1] It was not owing to any internal resources of commerce that France owed her safety at this period; but, as our author afterward observes, to the embarrassments that hindered the emperor from improving his good fortune. The troubles of Germany excited by the progress of Lutheranism; the irruption of the Turks in Hungary; the dissensions of Italy; the intrigues of the Venetians; and the caprice of Henry VIII., king of England, who shifted occasionally from one side to the other, and kept both in alarm.

same kind as that of the Goths and Heruli of old. The soldiers gladly embraced the offer, and instantly began their march, notwithstanding that a truce had been lately signed between the pope and the viceroy of Naples. They arrived before Rome, in 1527; scaled the walls of the city, and the duke of Bourbon was slain in mounting one of the ladders. Rome, however, was taken, given up to plunder, and sacked; and the pope, who had retreated for safety to the castle of St. Angelo, was taken prisoner there.

The taking of Rome, and capture of the pope, did not, however, render Charles any more the absolute master of Italy than the taking of Francis I. had procured him an entry into France. The scheme of universal monarchy then, which is generally attributed to this emperor, is as false and chimerical as that afterward imputed to Louis XIV. For so far was Charles from keeping Rome, or subduing all Italy, that, in 1528, he gave the pope his liberty for four hundred thousand gold crowns — of which, however, he only received one hundred thousand — as he had before released the children of France for two millions of crowns.

It may seem surprising that an emperor who was master of Spain, of the seventeen provinces of the Low Countries, of Naples and Sicily, and lord paramount of Lombardy, and already in possession of Mexico, and whose subjects were then making the conquest of Peru for him, should have made so little advantage of his good fortune. But the first

sums which had been sent him from Mexico were swallowed up by the sea; and he received no settled tribute from America, as his successor, Philip II., afterward did. The troubles occasioned in Germany by Lutheranism perplexed him on one side, and on the other he was alarmed by the progress of the Turks in Hungary. He was obliged at the same time to resist the attacks of Sultan Solyman and Francis I., to keep the German princes in subjection, to manage the Italians, and the Venetians, and to fix that wavering prince, Henry VIII. So that though he still continued to fill the first place on the theatre of Europe, he was very far from approaching to universal monarchy.

His generals found it very difficult to rid Italy of the French, who had, in 1528, penetrated as far as the kingdom of Naples. The system of a balance of power was then established in Europe; for immediately after the taking of Francis I., the English and the powers of Italy entered into a league with France to counterbalance the emperor's power. They did the same upon the pope's being taken.

In 1529, a peace was concluded at Cambray, on the plan of the treaty of Madrid, by which Francis had been set at liberty. It was at the signing of this peace that Charles gave up the children of France, and desisted from his pretensions upon Burgundy, for the consideration of two millions of crowns.

Charles now left Spain to go to Rome, and receive the imperial crown from the hands of the

pope, and to kiss the feet of him whom he had so lately detained captive. He disposed of all Lombardy as absolute master; for he invested Francis Sforza in the duchy of Milan, and Alexander de Medici in that of Tuscany; he named a duke of Mantua, and obliged the pope to restore Modena and Reggio to the duke of Ferrara in 1530; but all this he did for a pecuniary consideration, and without reserving to himself any other right than that of lord paramount.

So many princes at his feet gave him that external air of grandeur which is so apt to deceive; but he was truly great in marching to drive Solyman out of Hungary, at the head of a hundred thousand men, assisted by his brother Ferdinand and all the Protestant princes of Germany, who signalized themselves for the defence of Europe. This was the first beginning of his active life and personal glory. We now find him at once fighting against the Turks; preventing the French from passing the Alps; appointing a council, and returning into Spain, in 1535, in order to carry the war into Africa; landing before Tunis, gaining a victory over the usurper of that kingdom, appointing a king of Tunis, tributary to Spain, and delivering eighteen thousand Christians from captivity, whom he brought home in triumph to Europe, and who, succored by his bounty, returned each to his native country, and exalted the name of Charles V. to the skies. All the princes of Christendom now seemed small in com-

parison with him, and all other glory seemed lost in the superior lustre of his fame.

His good fortune also ordered it so that Solyman, who was a more formidable enemy than Francis I., was at that time employed in a war against the Persians. He had taken Tauris, in 1534, and, directing his march toward ancient Assyria, he made himself master of Mesopotamia, now called Diarbeck, and of Kurdestan, which is the ancient Susiana, and entered the city of Bagdad, the new Babylon, in triumph. After this, he caused himself to be inaugurated king of Persia, by the caliph of Bagdad. The caliphs had for a long time been divested of everything in Persia, excepting the honor of giving the turban to the sultans, and girding the scimitar to the side of the strongest power. Mahmoud, Genghis, Tamerlane, and Sufi Ismael, had accustomed the Persians to change masters. Solyman, after having taken one half of Persia from Thamas, the son of Ismael, returned victorious to Constantinople. After his departure his generals lost a part of their master's conquests in Persia. Thus were things kept in balance; kingdom fell upon kingdom; the Persians attacked the Turks; the Turks, Germany and Italy; and Germany and Spain fell upon France, and had there been any other nations farther westward, these would have become so many new enemies to Spain and France.

Europe had experienced no violent shocks since the fall of the Roman Empire; and no emperor

since Charlemagne had ever shone with such glory as Charles V. The one holds the first rank within the memory of man as a conqueror and the founder of states; the other, with as much power, had the most difficult character to support. Charlemagne, with the numerous armies trained by Pepin and Charles Martel, made an easy conquest of the enervated Lombards and the wild Saxons. Charles V. had always the kingdom of France, the Turkish Empire, and the half of Germany to guard against.

England, which in the eighth century was separated from the rest of the world, became in the sixteenth a powerful kingdom, which it was always necessary to keep well with. But what rendered the situation of Charles V. greatly superior to that of Charlemagne was, that having almost the same extent of country in Europe under his dominion, this country was always better peopled, in a more flourishing state, and abounded more in great men of every kind. There was not one great trading city at the first revival of the empire under Charlemagne: nor were any names but those of the most powerful handed down to posterity. The single province of Flanders was of more value in the sixteenth century than the whole empire in the ninth: and Italy in the time of Pope Paul III. is to Italy in the time of Adrian I. and Leo III. what the modern architecture is to the Gothic. I shall take no notice here of the liberal arts, for which this century might have vied with the Augustan age,

nor of the happiness of Charles V., who could reckon so many great geniuses among his subjects; this work being dedicated only to public affairs and the general sketch of the world.

CHAPTER CIV.

THE CONDUCT OF FRANCIS I. — HIS INTERVIEW WITH CHARLES V. — THEIR DISPUTES AND WARS — ALLIANCE BETWEEN THE KING OF FRANCE AND SULTAN SOLYMAN — DEATH OF FRANCIS I.

THE conduct of Francis I. who, on seeing his rival thus disposing of kingdoms, endeavored once more to get possession of Milan, which he had solemnly renounced by two treaties, and for this purpose called in the assistance of Solyman and his Turks, whom Charles V. had driven out of Europe, might be agreeable to good politics; but it stood in need of great success to render it glorious.

This prince might have quitted his pretensions to Milan, the inexhaustible source of war, and the burying-place of so many of his nation, as Charles had relinquished his rights to Burgundy, which were founded on the treaty of Madrid; he would then have enjoyed a happy peace, would have adorned, well governed, and improved his kingdom much more than he did in the latter part of his life; and might have given full scope to those virtues he really possessed. He was great in that he was an encourager of the arts; but the unhappy desire he

had to be duke of Milan, and vassal of the empire, whether the emperor would or not, proved prejudicial to his glory. Being reduced to seek the assistance of Barbarossa, he was severely reproached by that corsair for not having properly seconded him, and was afterward openly called a renegade, and a perjured wretch, in a full assembly of the imperial diet.

How fatal a contrast was it to cause a number of poor Lutherans, among whom were several Germans, to be burned in a slow fire, at Paris, and at the same time to enter into an alliance with the Lutheran princes of Germany, to whom he was obliged to excuse himself for this cruelty, and even to affirm that there were no Germans among those who had suffered. How can historians have the meanness to approve of these punishments, and to call them the effects of the pious zeal of a prince, given up to his passions and pleasures, and void even of the shadow of that piety they pretend to attribute to him! If this was a religious act, it was cruelly falsified by the prodigious number of Catholic captives whom his treaty with Solyman gave up to the chains of Barbarossa, on the coasts of Italy. If it was an act of policy, we may by the same rule approve of the persecutions of the Pagans, in which so many Christians were sacrificed. Charles V. put no Lutheran to death; and he set at liberty eighteen thousand captives, instead of delivering them up to the Turks.

In the fatal expedition of Milan, it was necessary to pass through Piedmont; but the duke of Savoy refused the king a passage: upon which he attacked that prince at the time the emperor was returning victorious from Tunis. Another cause for wasting Savoy by fire and sword was, that the mother of Francis I. was of that family, and some pretensions upon certain parts of that state had long been a subject of discord. The wars of Milan in like manner arose from the marriage of Louis XII. There is hardly any hereditary state in Europe which has not suffered by war on account of marriage. By this means the public law has become the greatest scourge of the people, as almost all the clauses in contracts and treaties have had to be explained by the sword. The duke's dominions were ravaged, and this invasion of Francis was what procured Geneva its full liberty, and made it as it were the new capital of the Reformed Religion. It happened that this same king who put the innovators in religion to the most cruel deaths in Paris, who made public processions to atone for their errors, who said that he would not spare even his own children if they were guilty of the like, was everywhere else the principal support of those whom he endeavored to root out of his own dominions.

Father Daniel is guilty of great injustice in saying that the city of Geneva at that time broke into open rebellion against the duke of Savoy. This duke was not its sovereign; it was a free imperial city,

and, like Cologne and many other cities, shared in the government with its bishop. The bishop had ceded his rights to the duke, and these rights being contested, had been put in arbitration twelve years before. This writer, then, should rather have observed, that Geneva was at that time a small and poor city; and that since it became free, it has been twice as well peopled, industrious, and trading.

In the meantime, what fruits did Francis I. reap from so many enterprises? Charles V. arrived from Rome, obliged the French to repass the Alps, entered Provence with fifty thousand men, advanced as far as Marseilles, laid siege to Arles, in 1536, while another of his armies laid waste Champagne and Picardy. Thus the fruit of this new attempt upon Italy was only exposing France itself to imminent danger.

Provence and Dauphiny were saved only by the wise conduct of Marshal de Montmorency, as they have been in our time by another marshal of France. We may derive great advantage I think from history, by comparing time and events. It is a pleasure truly worthy of a good citizen to examine into the means by which two victorious armies were driven out of the same state upon the same occasions. Those who live amidst the indolence of great cities, know little of the pains and efforts that are required to get provisions in a country which has hardly sufficient to maintain its own inhabitants, to find money

to pay the troops, to establish the necessary credit, to guard the banks of rivers, and to dislodge an enemy from the advantageous posts they may occupy. But such details do not enter into our plan; and it is only necessary to examine them at the instant of action. They are materials of the edifice, which are no longer to be considered when the building is completed.

That which more particularly characterizes the disputes between Charles V. and Francis I., and the shocks which they gave to Europe, is an odd mixture of openness and double dealing, frantic anger, and cordial reconciliation, the most brutal insults buried in an instantaneous oblivion, together with the deepest artifice and most generous confidence.

Could one expect to find Charles and Francis having a familiar interview with each other, like two neighboring gentlemen, after the captivity of Madrid, after the lie given to the teeth, after reciprocal challenges, and duels proposed in the presence of the pope, in full consistory, after the French king's league with Sultan Solyman; and, in short, after the emperor had been accused, as publicly as unjustly, of having caused the first dauphin to be poisoned, and even while the frontiers of both kingdoms were yet reeking with the blood of so many thousands slain?

And yet these two great rivals had an interview in the road of Aigues-Mortes. This meeting had been mediated by the pope after the conclusion of a

truce. Charles even came on shore, paid the first visit, and put himself into the hands of his declared enemy: this was the consequence of the spirit of the times. Charles always distrusted the promises of the monarch; but he trusted without scruple to the honor of the knight.

The duke of Savoy was for a long time the victim of this interview. These two monarchs, who, although they met with so much familiarity, were always concerting measures against each other, kept possession of the duke's places; the king of France, to secure himself a passage, if necessary, into the duchy of Milan, and the emperor to prevent him from it.

In 1539, Charles V., after this interview at Aigues-Mortes, made a journey to Paris, which is far more surprising than those of the emperors Sigismund and Charles IV.

At his return to Spain he heard that the city of Ghent, in Flanders, had revolted. How far this city had a right to maintain its privileges, and how far it had abused them, was a problem that force only could solve. Charles, impatient to reduce and punish it, for this purpose demanded of the king a passage through his dominions. Francis sent the dauphin and the duke of Orleans to conduct him as far as Bayonne, and went in person to meet him at Châtellerault.

The emperor, who was fond of travelling, took pleasure in showing himself to all the people of

Europe, and indulging in the glory he had acquired. This journey was a continued series of feasting and merriment, and was undertaken for the sake of hanging twenty-four poor citizens. He might easily have spared himself so much fatigue, by sending a few troops to the regent of the Low Countries; and it may even seem surprising that he had not left a sufficient number in Flanders to suppress this revolt; but it was the custom of those times to disband the troops immediately after a truce or a peace.

The design of Francis I., in receiving the emperor in his dominions with so much parade and civility, was to obtain from him at length a promise of the investiture of the duchy of Milan; and it was in this idle view that he refused the homage offered him by the inhabitants of Ghent: but he neither got Ghent nor Milan.

It has been pretended that Constable de Montmorency lost the king's favor for having advised him to be content with a verbal promise from Charles. I relate this trifling event, because, if true, it shows the human heart. A person who has no one to blame but himself if he has followed evil counsel is frequently unjust enough to condemn the author; but there was no reason to repent of not having exacted a mere verbal promise from Charles V.; a promise in writing would not have been more binding.

Francis himself had promised under his hand to

give up Burgundy, and yet he was very far from abiding by that promise. A prince seldom gives up a large province to his enemy without being forced to it by arms. The emperor afterward owned publicly that he had promised the duchy of Milan to one of the king's sons; but insisted, at the same time, that it was only on condition that Francis should evacuate Turin, which he had still continued to keep.

The generous reception which the king had given the emperor in France, so many sumptuous feasts, and all that show of confidence and friendship on both sides, ended at last only in fresh wars.

While Solyman was still continuing to ravage Hungary, and while Charles V., to put the finishing touch to his glory, resolved to conquer the kingdom of Algiers, as he had done that of Tunis, and failed in the undertaking, Francis I. renewed more strictly his alliance with Solyman. He sent two ministers privately to the pope, through Venice. These ministers were assassinated on their way, by order of Marquis del Vasto, governor of Milan, under pretence that they were the emperor's subjects. Francis Sforza, the last duke of Milan, had some years before caused another of the king's ministers to be beheaded. How are we to reconcile these breaches of the law of nations with the generosity on which the officers of both princes piqued themselves? In 1541, the war was renewed with more animosity than ever, on the side of Piedmont, in the Pyrenees,

and in Picardy. It was at this time that the king's galleys joined those of Cheredin, surnamed Barbarossa, the sultan's admiral, and viceroy of Algiers. In 1543, the fleur-de-lis and the crescent flew jointly before the city of Nice, which, however, held out against all the attempts of the French and Turks, who were commanded by the count of Enghien, of the Bourbon family, and the Turkish admiral; and, the famous Andrew Doria coming to its relief with his galleys, Barbarossa returned with his fleet to Toulon.

This is the Doria who may deservedly be reckoned the chief of all those who assisted the fortunes of Charles V. He had the glory of defeating his galleys before Naples, when admiral in the service of Francis I., and while his country, Genoa, was still under the French dominion. Like Constable Bourbon, he thought himself obliged by the court intrigues to go over to the emperor's service. He several times challenged the sultan's fleets to combat; but his chief honor was having restored liberty to his country of which Charles V. permitted him to be sovereign. But he preferred the title of "Deliverer" to that of "Master," and established the government as it now exists, and lived till the age of ninety-four, with the greatest reputation of any man in Europe. After his death the Genoese erected a statue to his memory, as deliverer of his country.

In the meantime the count of Enghien repaired

the disgrace of Nice, by the victory which he gained over Marquis del Vasto at Cérisoles in Piedmont. There never was a victory more complete, and yet the conquerors gained no advantage from it.[1] It was the fate of the French to conquer to no purpose in Italy, as the battles of Agnadello, Fornovo, Ravenna, Marignano, and Cérisoles, will eternally witness.

Henry VIII., by an inconceivable fatality, entered into an alliance against France with that emperor whose aunt he had put away in so shameful a manner, and whose nephew he had declared a bastard, and who had in revenge caused Pope Clement VII. to excommunicate him. Princes can at the voice of interest equally forget injuries and benefits: but in this case it seems to have been rather caprice than interest that induced Henry VIII. to join Charles V.

[1] It was not without great difficulty that the king's general, Enghien, obtained leave to hazard a battle, on the issue of which the preservation of France in a great measure depended. When Blaise de Montluc prevailed upon the king to comply with the duke's request, the count de St. Pol said to him: "Madman, thou art going to be author of the greatest advantage or the greatest misfortune which can happen to thy country."

The imperialists were more numerous than the French by ten thousand men; yet they suffered a total overthrow, and great numbers of them were put to the sword. The fruit which Francis reaped from this victory was the reduction of Carignano, Montcallier, St. Damian, Vigon, Pont d'Esture, and the greater part of Montferrat, as well as the opportunity of detaching a body of troops from this army to cover Picardy and Champagne, into which the emperor and the king of England were on the point of penetrating.

Henry proposed marching to Paris with an army of thirty thousand men. He besieged Boulogne by sea, while Charles was advancing into Picardy. What had become of the balance of power which Henry was so fond of holding? His only object was to embarrass Francis I. and thereby prevent him from throwing any obstacles in the way of the marriage which he had projected between his son, Edward, and Mary Stuart of Scotland, who was afterward queen of France. What a reason this was for declaring war.

These new dangers destroyed all the fruits of the victory of Cérisoles. The French king was obliged to recall a great part of that victorious army for the defence of the southern frontiers of the kingdom.

France was now in greater danger than she had ever been. Charles had already advanced as far as Soissons, the king of England had taken Boulogne, and Paris itself began to tremble. Lutheranism now proved the safety of France, and was of more service to her than the Turks, on whom the king had placed so much dependence. The Lutheran princes of Germany all joined in arms against Charles V., whom they began to fear would become despotic. Charles pressing France, and pressed by the empire, concluded a peace, in 1544, at Crespy in Valois, to turn his arms against his German subjects.

By this peace he again promised the duchy of Milan to the duke of Orleans, the king's son, who was to be his son-in-law; but destiny would not

permit a prince of France to have possession of this province; and the death of the duke of Orleans saved the emperor the confusion of once more breaking his word.

In 1546, Francis I. purchased a peace with England for eight hundred thousand crowns. These were his last exploits, and these the fruits of the designs he had all his lifetime been forming upon Naples and Milan. He was in everything the victim of the good fortune of Charles V., for he died some months after Henry VIII., of that almost incurable distemper which had at that time been transplanted into Europe by the discovery of the new world. Such is the concatenation of events! A Genoese pilot gave a new world to Spain. Nature had placed in the islands of these distant climes a poison which infects the springs of life, and by which a king of France was destined to perish. At his death he left a lasting dissension behind him, not between France and Germany, but between the houses of France and Austria.

CHAPTER CV.

TROUBLES IN GERMANY — BATTLE OF MÜHLBERG — GREATNESS, DISGRACE, AND ABDICATION OF CHARLES THE FIFTH.

THE death of Francis I. did not level the way to that universal monarchy to which Charles V. is said to have aspired. That prince was still far from it; he

not only had a formidable enemy in Henry II., who succeeded Francis on the throne of France; but at that time also the princes and cities of Germany, which had embraced the new religion, raised a civil war, and assembled a large army against him. It was rather the party of liberty than that of Lutheranism.

This emperor, deemed so powerful, was not able, even with the assistance of his brother Ferdinand, king of Hungary and Bohemia, to raise as large an army of Germans as the confederates could bring into the field. Charles was therefore obliged, in order to raise an equal force, to have recourse to his Spaniards, and to borrow money and troops of Pope Paul III.

Nothing could be more complete and glorious than the victory he gained over the army of the confederates at Mühlberg. The elector of Saxony, and the landgrave of Hesse were among the number of his prisoners; the Lutheran party were thrown into the greatest consternation, the conquered were loaded with immense taxes, and, in short, all together seemed to render him despotic in Germany; but the same thing now happened to him as after the taking of Francis I.; he lost all the fruits of his good fortune. Pope Paul, who had so much befriended him before his victory, withdrew his troops as soon as he saw him become too powerful; and Henry VIII. of England spirited up the languishing remains of the Lutheran party in Germany. The new elector of

Saxony, Maurice, on whom Charles had bestowed the duchy of the conquered elector, soon declared against him, and even put himself at the head of the League.

At length this emperor, who had been so terrible to all Europe, is on the point of being made prisoner, with his brother, by the confederates, and is obliged to fly with the utmost precipitation and disorder to the defiles of Innsbrück. At the same time the French king, Henry II. seized Metz, Toul, and Verdun, which have ever since remained in the house of France, as the reward of having secured the Germanic liberty. Thus we see that the grandees of the empire, and even the Lutheran religion itself, have in all times owed their preservation to the kings of France. The same thing happened afterward under Ferdinand II. and Ferdinand III.

And now the possessor of Mexico was obliged to borrow two hundred thousand gold crowns from Cosmo, duke of Florence, to endeavor to recover Metz; and having compromised matters with the Lutherans, that he might be more at liberty to avenge himself on the French king, he laid siege to that city, with an army of fifty thousand men. This is one of the most memorable sieges we meet with in history, and has immortalized the reputation of Francis of Guise, who, in 1552, defended the town sixty-five days against the emperor's army, and at

length obliged him to abandon his design, after losing one-third of his forces.

The power of Charles V. was at that time a vast heap of honors and dignities, surrounded on all sides by precipices. The troubles he was engaged in all his lifetime would never permit him to form his large dominions into a strong and compact body, whose parts might all mutually assist one another, and supply him with a numerous army kept constantly on foot. This Charlemagne happily effected: but then his dominions lay all contiguous; and after having conquered the Saxons and Lombards, he had not a Solyman to repulse; he had no king of France to fight against, nor had he the powerful princes of Germany, and a pope still more powerful, to suppress or fear.

Charles knew full well what kind of cement was required to raise an edifice equal in strength to the greatness of Charlemagne. It was necessary that his son Philip should have the empire; then, as the mines of Mexico and Peru made him richer than all the other kings of Europe put together, he might have arrived at that universal monarchy which is much easier imagined than attained.

In this Charles employed his utmost endeavors to persuade his brother Ferdinand, king of the Romans, to cede the empire to Philip; but so disagreeable a proposal only served to set Ferdinand and Philip at variance forever.

At length, wearied with so many efforts, grown

old before his time, and undeceived in everything, after having attempted everything, he resigned his crowns,[1] and renounced the society of mankind at the age of fifty-four, a time of life in which the age and ambition of other men are in their full vigor, and when many inferior princes begin to appoint their ministers, and enter the career of their greatness.

Before I proceed to take a view of the influence which Philip II. had over one-half of Europe, the great power of the English under Queen Elizabeth, and what was the fate of Italy, in what manner the republic of the United Provinces was established, and the dreadful condition to which the kingdom of France was reduced, I judge it necessary to speak of the revolutions which happened in religion, as this had had a principal share in all affairs, either as a cause or pretence, ever since the time of Charles V.

I shall then give a sketch of the conquests of the

[1] Charles published an act of his abdication in the Latin tongue; then he sent the imperial ornaments to his brother Ferdinand, took leave of all the ambassadors that attended his court, thanked his officers, and recommended them to his son Philip; repaired to Zealand, from whence he sailed to the port of Laredo, in Biscay, and set out for the place of his retreat, which was the monastery of Yuste, situated on the frontiers of Castile, in the province of Estremadura, a most romantic valley, surrounded with agreeable hills. Here he lived seemingly happy, as a private person, about eighteen months, and died in the year 1558, at the age of fifty-seven. Some authors allege that he lived long enough in this retreat to repent heartily of his abdication. But this is no other than a surmise.

Spaniards in America, and of those made by the Portuguese in the Indies; miraculous events, of which Philip II. reaped the whole benefit, and by which he became the most powerful monarch in Christendom.

CHAPTER CVI.

LEO X. AND THE CHURCH.

You have taken a survey of that vast chaos in which the Christian states of Europe were confusedly plunged, from the time of the downfall of the Roman Empire. The political government of the Church, which to all appearances should have united these divided parts, was unhappily a fresh source of confusion, hitherto unknown in the annals of the world. The Church of Rome and that of Greece were at continual variance, and by their disputes had opened the gates of Constantinople to the Ottoman power.

The empire and the pontificate, which were continually in arms against each other, had laid waste Italy, Germany, and almost all the other states of Christendom. The mixture of these two powers, which were always opposing each other either secretly or publicly, proved the source of everlasting dissensions. The feudal government had made sovereigns of several bishops and monks. The limits of their dioceses were different from those of the state; the same city was Italian or German as to its bishop, and French as to its king. You have seen

in what manner the secular jurisdiction was in everything opposed to the ecclesiastic, except in those dominions where the Church was, and still is, supreme; how every secular prince endeavored to render his government independent of the see of Rome, without being able to effect it. You have seen the bishops sometimes opposing the pope, and at others uniting with him against crowned heads; in a word, the whole republic of the Latin communion was almost always unanimous in point of doctrine, and perpetually at variance in every other respect.

After the detestable, but successful, pontificate of Alexander VI., and after the military, and still more happy, reign of Pope Julius II., the popes might with justice consider themselves as the masters of Italy, and the influencers of the rest of Europe. No other Italian power possessed larger territories, except the king of Naples, who was still a feudatory of the papal crown.

Under these favorable circumstances, the twenty-four cardinals, who at that time composed the whole college, in 1513, raised to the pontificate John de Medici, great-great-grandson of the famous Cosmo de Medici, who was a private merchant, and the father of his country.

John de Medici, who took the name of Leo X., was made a cardinal when he was only fourteen, and was elected pope before he was thirty-six years old. His family had then returned to Tuscany, and Leo

soon had interest enough to place his brother, Peter, at the head of the administration in Florence. He married his other brother, Julian, surnamed the Magnificent, to the princess of Savoy, who was also duchess of Nemours, and made him one of the most powerful noblemen of Italy. These three brothers, who had been educated under Angelus Politianus and Calcondilas, were all truly worthy of such masters, and vied with one another in cultivating learning and the liberal arts; so that this age deserves to be called the Medicean age. The pontiff, in particular, united the most refined taste with an unparalleled magnificence. He encouraged great geniuses in all the arts by his bounty and engaging behavior. His coronation cost one hundred thousand gold crowns. On this occasion he had the "*Penula*" of Plautus acted, and the glorious days of the Roman Empire seemed revived under him. All austerity was banished from religion, which now acquired the respect of everyone by the most pompous ceremonies. The barbarous style of the Datary was entirely laid aside, to make room for the eloquence of Cardinals Bembo and Sadolet, at that time secretaries of the briefs, men who imitated the Latinity of Cicero, and seemed to adopt his skeptical philosophy. The comedies of Aristophanes and Machiavelli, void as they are of modesty and piety, were frequently played at this court in presence of the pope and his cardinals, by young people of the best quality in Rome. The merit alone of these

works — held in high esteem in this age — rendered them agreeable; and what might appear offensive to religion in them was not perceived by a court wholly taken up with intrigues and pleasures, and which thought that religion stood in no danger from these trifling liberties. And, indeed, as neither the doctrine nor the power of the Church were here concerned, the court of Rome was no more offended at them than the ancient Greeks and Romans were at the jokes of Aristophanes and Plautus.

Though Leo X. was perfectly absolute in serious affairs, he never suffered them to break in upon his more delicate pleasures. Even the conspiracy formed against his life by two of his cardinals, and the exemplary punishment he inflicted on them, made no alteration in the gayety of his court.

Cardinals Petrucci and Soli, incensed against the pope for having taken the duchy of Urbino from the nephew of Julius II., bribed a surgeon who used to dress a secret ulcer of the pope's, and the death of this pontiff was to be the signal of a revolution in several of the cities of the ecclesiastical state. The plot, however, was discovered, and several of those concerned in it put to death, in 1517. The two cardinals were put to the torture, and afterward condemned to die. Cardinal Petrucci was hanged in prison, and the other purchased his life with his riches.

It is very remarkable, that they were condemned by the secular magistrates of Rome, and not their

peers. The pope, by this action, seemed to invite all the crowned heads to make the clergy subject to the ordinary courts of justice, but the holy see never thought of yielding to kings a right which it assumed to itself. How comes it that the cardinals, who have the electing of popes, have left them in possession of this despotic power, while the electors and the princes of the empire have so much curtailed the power of the emperors? The reason is, that these princes have dominions, and the cardinals have only dignities.

This melancholy event soon gave place to the customary amusements. Leo X., in order to wipe away the remembrance of a cardinal condemned to die by the halter, created thirty new ones, most of them Italians, and of the same disposition as their master; and though they might not have quite so good taste, or so much learning, as the pontiff, they at least came very near to him in the indulgence of their pleasures. Their example was followed by most of the prelacy. Spain was at that time the only country where the Church still adhered to a severity of manners, which had been introduced by Cardinal Ximenes, a man of austere and morose disposition, who had no taste but for absolute authority, and who, when regent of Spain, went always dressed in the habit of a cordelier, and was wont to say that he could bind all the grandees of the kingdom to their duty by his cord, and crush their pride beneath his sandals.

In every other country the prelates lived with all the voluptuousness of princes; some of them were in possession of eight or nine bishoprics at once. It is astonishing to reckon the number of benefices enjoyed by some of them at that time; such as Cardinal Wolsey and the cardinal of Lorraine, and many others; but this multitude of church livings heaped on a single person had no worse consequences then, than the number of bishoprics now held by the electors or prelates of Germany.

All writers, both Protestant and Catholic, greatly inveigh against the general depravity of manners in those times. They tell us that the prelates, curates, and monks led the most easy and happy lives; and nothing was more common than for prelates to bring up their children in a public manner, after the example of Alexander VI. It is certain, that there is yet extant the will of one Croui, at that time bishop of Cambray, in which he leaves several legacies to his children, and reserves a sum "for the bastards which he hopes God will be pleased to give him, in case he should recover from his illness." These are the very words of the will. Pope Pius II. had long before that declared in writing, that, for very good reasons, priests had been forbidden to marry; but that, for still better reasons, it ought to be allowed them. The Protestants have carefully collected facts which prove, that in several of the states of Germany, the people obliged their ministers to keep mistresses, that their wives might remain in greater security: but

still it must be owned, that this was no reason for authorizing so many civil wars, nor for killing other men because the priests begot children.

But that which most disgusted the public was the granting of general and particular indulgences, absolutions, and dispensations, at all prices. This kind of apostolic tax was uncertain and unlimited before the time of Pope John XXII., who first settled it, and reduced it to a code of the canon law. A deacon or sub-deacon who had been guilty of murder was absolved, and had permission to hold three benefices for twelve livres tournois, three ducats, and six carlines, which is about twenty crowns. A bishop and an abbot might commit murder for about three hundred livres, and the most unnatural or indecent acts had their stated price. Bestiality was assessed at two hundred and fifty livres; dispensations might be purchased, not only for sins actually committed, but even for those which a person might have an inclination to commit. There has been found, in the archives of Joinville, a reversionary indulgence for the cardinal of Lorraine, and twelve persons of his retinue, by which each of them had the choice of any three sins they chose to commit. Le Laboureur, a very exact writer, says that the duchess of Bourbon and Auvergne, sister of Charles VIII., had a right to claim absolution for herself, and for ten persons of her retinue, for all the sins they should commit, during their lives, on forty-seven holidays in the year, exclusive of Sundays.

This strange abuse seems to have had its origin in the ancient laws of the European nations, and of the Franks, Saxons, and Burgundians. The court of Rome did not adopt this rating of sins and dispensations till the times of anarchy, and when the popes no longer dared to reside at Rome. No council ever made a tax on sins an article of faith.

Among these abuses some were oppressive, and others ridiculous. Those who said that the superstructure should be repaired without totally destroying it seemed to have said all that could be offered in answer to the complaints of an incensed people. The great number of masters of families, who are continually laboring to secure a moderate competency for their wives and children; and the still greater number of artificers and laborers, who earn their bread by the sweat of their brows, could not without concern behold those lazy monks fattening in the midst of luxury, and leading the lives of princes. It was answered that the money expended in this luxury returned again into the general circulation. The effeminate lives of these priests, far from disturbing the inward peace of the Church, rather strengthened it, and their very excesses, had they even been carried to a greater length, would certainly have been less dangerous than the horrors of war, and the sacking of towns. Here may be interposed what is said by Machiavelli, the celebrated doctor, of those who understand nothing but politics. He says in his discourse on Titus Livius, that the

excessive wickedness of the Italians of his time, was to be imputed to religion and the priests. But it is clear, that he cannot by this mean the wars raised on account of religion, since there were none at that time; he can only refer to the wickedness of Alexander VI. and his court, and the ambition of certain churchmen, which is very foreign to the doctrines, the disputes, persecutions, rebellions, and that bloody animosity among the divines, which produced so many murders.

We are told that the republic of Venice itself, whose government was esteemed the wisest in Europe, took great pains to indulge all its clergy in a life of pleasure and dissipation, so that by being less respected among the people, they might not have the power to raise commotions. There were, nevertheless, in all places men of exemplary purity of manners, pastors truly worthy of that title, and monks who from their hearts, submitted to those vows of austerity which shock the effeminate mind: but these virtues are buried in obscurity, while luxury and vice lord it in splendor.

The pleasures which surrounded the voluptuous court of Leo X. could not escape attention; but at the same time it was easily perceived that this very court contributed to civilize Europe, and render mankind more sociable. After the persecution against the Hussites, religion no longer raised any troubles in the world. The Inquisition exercised great cruelties in Spain upon the Jews and Mahometans, but

these were not such general misfortunes as subvert nations. The greater part of the Christians lived in a happy ignorance; and there were not perhaps in all Europe ten gentlemen who had Bibles. This book had not been translated into the vulgar tongue, or at least the translations made of it in a few countries were entirely unknown.

The higher clergy, wholly occupied in temporal matters, knew how to enjoy their good fortune, and never troubled themselves with religious disputes. It may be said that Pope Leo X., by the encouragement he gave to learning, furnished arms against himself. I have been told by an English nobleman, that he had seen a letter from Cardinal Pole to this pope, in which, while he is felicitating his holiness upon having extended the progress of the sciences in Europe, he gives him to understand that it was dangerous to make men too knowing. Leo X. was far from having any apprehensions from the change he saw in Christendom, of which his magnificence and one of the noblest undertakings that could dignify a prince were the principal causes.

His predecessor, Julius II., under whose pontificate painting and architecture began to make such great advances, resolved that Rome should have a temple which might not only surpass the famous one of St. Sophia at Constantinople, but be one of the most magnificent edifices yet erected in the world; and he had the resolution to undertake what he could never hope to see completed. Leo X.

warmly pursued this noble scheme; it required immense sums, and his magnificence had already drained his treasury. Every Christian should have contributed to the raising of this wonder of the capital of Europe; but the sums requisite for carrying on public works are not raised without great art or force. Leo X. had recourse, if I may be allowed the expression, to one of St. Peter's keys, which had on other occasions been made use of to open the coffers of the public, and fill those of the popes.

He pretended a war against the Turks, and ordered a sale of indulgences to be made through all the states of Christendom. An indulgence is a deliverance from the pains of purgatory, either in person, or for one's friends or relatives. A public sale of this kind shows the spirit of the times. No one was surprised at it; there were offices for indulgences in every part, and they were established in the same manner as the customs. Most of the collectors used to hold their offices in taverns. The preacher, the person who farmed them, and he who distributed them, had each a profit upon them. The pope gave part of the money arising from them to his sister, and yet nobody murmured at it. The preachers used to declare openly from the pulpit, that if any one had even ravished the Holy Virgin, he might have absolution by purchasing these indulgences; and the people listened to such speeches with the utmost devotion. But when the farm of this tax was given to the Dominican friars in Germany,

the Augustines, who had long been in possession of it, became jealous; and the private interest of a few monks in a corner of Saxony produced more than two hundred years of discord, rage, and misfortunes among thirty kingdoms.

CHAPTERS CVII. AND CVIII.

LUTHER AND ZUINGLIUS.

You cannot but know that this mighty revolution in the human mind, and in the political system of Europe, was begun by Martin Luther, an Augustine monk, whom his superiors engaged to preach against those commodities which they could not dispose of. The dispute was at first between the two orders of the Augustines and Dominicans.

Had anyone told Luther at that time that he would subvert the Roman Catholic religion in almost half of Europe, he would not have believed it. He went further than he thought for, as is the case in all disputes, and in almost all transactions.

After having cried down indulgences, he, in 1517, proceeded to examine the power of him who granted them. The veil was now partly drawn aside; the people were stirred up, and resolved to judge for themselves of what had been so long the object of their implicit reverence. Even all the horrors committed by Alexander VI. and his family had not raised the least doubt about the spiritual power of the pope; three hundred thousand pilgrims had

come to Rome to attend his jubilee: but the times were changed, and the measure of iniquity was full. The pleasurable pontificate of Leo X. was punished for the crimes of Alexander VI. A reformation was first demanded, and a total separation soon followed. It was evident that men in power are not easily reformed; it was, therefore, their authority, their wealth, and the yoke of the Roman taxes that was aimed at. In fact, how could the pleasures of the court of Rome concern the people of Stockholm, Copenhagen, London, or Dresden? But it concerned them to be relieved from their exorbitant taxes, and to prevent the archbishop of Upsal from becoming master of a kingdom. The revenues of the archbishopric of Magdeburg and several of the rich abbeys were alluring baits to the secular princes. The separation, which arose as it were of itself, and from very slight causes, did, however, operate principally in bringing about the reformation so much desired, and which in the end has proved of so little effect. The manners of the court of Rome are more decent, indeed, and the clergy of France more learned; and it must be acknowledged that the clergy in general have been improved by the Protestants, as one rival becomes more circumspect from the prying jealousy of another.

To bring about this great separation, nothing more was required than a prince capable of stirring up the people. The old elector of Saxony, Frederick, surnamed the Wise, who, after the death of Maxi-

milian, nobly refused the imperial crown, was the declared protector of Luther. This revolution in the Church began in the same manner as all those by which the people have deposed their sovereigns; namely, by first presenting petitions, then setting forth grievances, and lastly subverting the throne. There were no absolute marks of an intended separation in laughing at indulgences, in requiring to partake of both species at communion, in advancing some unintelligible things concerning justification and free will, in aiming at the abolition of the monkish orders, or in offering to prove that the Holy Scripture nowhere expressly mentions purgatory.

In 1520 Leo X., who in his own mind despised such disputes, was obliged, as pope, to anathematize by bull all these propositions. He did not know that England in secret powerfully supported Luther. It has been said that the best method to have made him change his opinion would have been to have sent him a cardinal's hat; but the contempt in which he was held proved fatal to the Church of Rome.

Luther no longer kept any measures; he composed his book, called "The Captivity of Babylon," in which he exhorted all crowned heads to throw off the papal yoke, and inveighed strongly against private masses; and this work was the more applauded, because he therein greatly condemned the public sale of these masses. They had been first brought into vogue by the mendicant monks of the thirteenth century, and were purchased by the peo-

ple in the same manner as they still are, whenever it is required. This was no more than a small contribution raised for the subsistence of the poor religious, and officiating priests; a kind of trifling fee, which could by no means be grudged to those who live only by alms and the altar, and which at that time amounted in France to about two sols of the current money, and not quite so much in Germany. Transubstantiation was condemned as a term not to be found in the Scriptures, nor in the writings of the primitive fathers. The followers of Luther pretended that the doctrine which teaches that the bread and wine is annihilated while the form still remains had not been universally held by the Church till the time of Pope Gregory VII., and that this doctrine had been first taught and explained by a Benedictine monk, called Pascasus Rather, in the ninth century. They turned over all the dark archives of antiquity, in search of reasons for separating themselves from the Church of Rome, founded on mysteries which human weakness can never dive into. Luther retained some part of the mystery, and rejected the other; he owned that the body of Jesus Christ was in the consecrated elements, "but in such manner," said he, "as fire may be said to be in heated iron; the fire and the iron subsist together." This manner of confounding the body of Christ with the bread and wine is called by Osiander, impanation, invination, and consubstantiation. Luther contented himself with saying that the body

and blood of our Saviour was in, above, and beneath, "*in, cum, sub.*"

The Dominican monks, assisted by the pope's nuncios in Germany, ordered all Luther's books to be burned, and the pope issued a fresh bull against him. Luther in return burned the pope's bull and the decretals in the public market-place at Wittenberg. This action shows the boldness of the man, and also that he was already very powerful. This new reformer had even then, in 1520, a great part of Germany in his interest, who, grown weary of the papal greatness, did not stand to examine nicely into scholastic propositions.

In the meantime these questions became greatly multiplied. The dispute about free will, another stumbling-block in the way of human reason, mingled its inexhaustible stream of absurd quarrels with the torrent of theological animosity. Luther himself denied the doctrine of free will, which nevertheless has since been received by his followers. The universities of Louvain and Paris wrote in defence of it; and the latter suspended a dispute it was then engaged in — whether there were three Magdalens, or only one Magdalen — to condemn Luther's propositions.

Aristotle was necessarily drawn into this dispute, as the schools were at that time his disciples; and Luther, having asserted that Aristotle's doctrine was of no aid to understanding the Scriptures, the holy faculty at Paris condemned this assertion as erron-

eous, and proceeding from a madman. The most idle theses were mingled with the profoundest disputations, and the mutual hatred of both parties was kept alive by false imputations, gross abuses, and reciprocal anathemas.

One can not read without a mixture of contempt and pity the manner in which Luther treats all his opponents, and particularly the pope. "Little pope, little popey, you are an ass, a little ass; walk softly, it is slippery, you may break your legs, and then it will be said, 'what the devil is all this?' the little ass of a popey is crippled; an ass knows that he is an ass, a stone knows that it is a stone; but these little asses of popes do not know that they are asses." These mean vulgarisms, which would nowadays be so disgusting, did not at all displease the grovelling minds of those times; and Luther, with all this lowness of a barbarous style, triumphed in his country over the politeness of the court of Rome.

Capricious destiny, which sports with the world, ordained that Henry VIII. of England should engage in this dispute. He had been educated by his father in the idle and absurd sciences of those days.

The fiery and impetuous spirit of young Henry had greedily imbibed the subtleties of the schools. He now resolved to use his pen against Luther; but before he began, he desired Pope Leo's permission to read the books of this arch-heretic, which had been forbidden to all Christians, under pain of excommunication. Leo granted him his request; and the

king wrote a book, in which he explained the writings of St. Thomas, and defended the seven sacraments against Luther, who then allowed of three only, which were afterward reduced to two. This book was written in great haste, and sent to Rome. His holiness, charmed with a work which is now read by scarcely anyone, compared it to the writings of St. Jerome and St. Augustine, and conferred the title of "Defender of the Faith" on King Henry and his successors. But on whom did he bestow this title? On the very man who, a few years afterward, was to become the most implacable enemy of the Church of Rome.

Luther had few followers in Italy; that ingenious nation was too much taken up with pleasures and intrigues to engage in these disputes; nor did the Spaniards, though naturally an active and busy people, interfere with them. The French likewise, though with the same turn as both these nations, and moreover with a strong taste for novelty, meddled with neither party. In short, the only theatre of this war of the imagination was in Germany, and in the Swiss nation, who were not at that time regarded as the most cunning people in the world, and are thought very circumspect. The learned and polite court of Rome never suspected that those she considered as a set of barbarians, could, armed with the Bible as with a sword, wrest from her one-half of Europe, and stagger the fidelity of the other.

It is a great question in politics whether Charles

V., at that time emperor, should have embraced the reformed religion, or have opposed it. By throwing off the papal yoke he at one blow avenged the four hundred years of oppression which the empire had undergone from the pontifical crown, and the insults it had offered to the imperial diadem; but at the same time he ran the risk of losing all Italy. It was necessary for him to keep fair with the pope, who was to join him against Francis I. Moreover, the subjects of his hereditary dominions were all Catholics; and he is even reproached with having beheld with pleasure the rise of a faction, which gave him the opportunity of raising taxes and troops in the empire, and crushing both Catholics and Protestants beneath the weight of absolute power. At length he thought himself engaged, in politics and honor, to declare against Luther, although perhaps he was of the same opinion at heart, in relation to some articles, as was suspected by the Spaniards after his death.

He therefore summoned Luther, in 1521, to appear and give an account of his doctrine before the imperial Diet of Worms, or, in other words, to come and declare whether he maintained the tenets which had been condemned by the Church of Rome. Luther obeyed the summons, and appeared with a safe-conduct from the emperor, exposing himself boldly to the same fate as John Huss; but this assembly being wholly composed of princes, he trusted to their honor. He spoke before the emperor and the

diet, and defended his doctrine with great courage. It is said that Charles V. was strongly solicited by Aleandro, the pope's nuncio, to cause Luther to be arrested, notwithstanding the safe-conduct he had granted him, exactly as Sigismund, contrary to public faith, had given up John Huss; but Charles made answer that he would not, like Sigismund, do anything he should have reason to be ashamed of.

Luther, notwithstanding that he had the emperor, the king of England, the pope and all the bishops and monks against him, was not in the least dismayed; but hidden in a stronghold in Saxony, he braved the emperor, exasperated half of Germany against the pope, answered the king of England as he would an equal, and strengthened and extended his newly raised Church.

The old elector of Saxony, Frederick, earnestly wished the extirpation of the Romish Church; Luther thought this a proper time to abolish private masses, and he set about it in a manner which, in times of greater knowledge, would not have met with extraordinary approbation. He pretended that the devil had appeared to him, and reproached him with saying private masses and with consecrating. The devil, he said, proved to him that it was an idolatrous custom; and then he concluded his tale with saying that he acknowledged the devil to be in the right, and that he should be believed. Accordingly mass was laid aside in the city of Wittenberg, and soon afterward in all the other places of Saxony. The

images were pulled down; the religious of both sexes left their cloisters; and in a few years Luther himself was married to a nun named Catherine Bore. The priests of the old communion reproached him with not being able to live without a wife, and Luther accused them of not being able to live without mistresses. These mutual reproaches were very different; the Catholic priests, accused of incontinence, were obliged to own that they transgressed the whole church discipline; whereas Luther and his followers had only made a change in it.

The law of history obliges us to do justice to the greater part of those monks who left their churches and their cloisters to enter into matrimony. It is true they resumed a liberty of which they had before made a sacrifice, and they broke their vows; but they were not libertines in their lives, nor could anyone reproach them with giving offence by their behavior. By the same impartial rule we are under the necessity of remarking that Luther and his monks, by contracting marriages which were useful to the state, were no more guilty of a violation of their vows than those who, having made profession of poverty and humility, continue in the enjoyment of vainglorious riches.

Among the number of things alleged against Luther, it was said by several, by way of irony, that he who had taken the devil's advice in overthrowing mass, showed his gratitude to him by abolishing the practice of exorcisms, and aimed at levelling all the

bulwarks which had been raised to keep out the enemy of mankind. It has been remarked since that in all those countries where exorcisms have been laid aside, they have no longer heard of witchcraft or persons possessed by the devil; and it has been said, both in words and writing, that the devils knew little of their own interest in taking refuge among the Catholics, who alone have the power of commanding them. It has also been observed that there is a prodigious number of magicians and possessed people in the Romish communion, even to this day. However, this is too serious a subject to divert oneself with; for it was certainly a very melancholy affair, that proved the ruin of so many families, and caused the punishment of a number of unfortunate wretches, as it is a great happiness to mankind that the courts of justice, in the more enlightened countries, no longer give ear to idle stories of fascinations and magic. Those of the reformed religion renewed this stumbling-block more than two hundred years before the Catholics, for which they were accused of striking at the foundation of the Christian religion; and it was objected to them that possessions by demons and witchcrafts are expressly admitted by the Holy Scriptures; that Christ Himself drove out evil spirits, and in a particular manner sent His apostles to do the same in His name. To this powerful objection the Protestants made the same answer as all prudent magistrates do at this time; that God permitted some things in former times

which he does not permit at present; and that the Church stood in need of miracles at her first institution, which, now that she is perfectly established, she has no longer occasion for.

The next country into which this new sect, known by the name of the Primitive Church, extended itself, was Switzerland. Zuinglius, curate of Zurich, went still further than Luther; for he admitted neither of impanation nor invination. He would not allow that God entered into the bread and wine, much less that the whole body of Christ was wholly and entirely in every morsel and drop of the elements. In France they gave him the name of "Sacramentarian," which appellation was at first extended to all the Protestants of his sect.

Zuinglius drew upon himself the abuse of all the clergy of his country. The affair was brought before the magistracy, in 1523, and the senate of Zurich examined the cause, as if it had related to an inheritance. It was then put to vote, and the majority were for the reformers. The people were waiting in crowds for the senate's decree, when the town clerk came out and acquainted them that Zuinglius had gained his cause; upon which they in an instant became of the senate's religion. Thus a village of Switzerland sat in judgment upon the Church of Rome. Happy people, after all! whose simplicity referred to its magistrates that which neither the magistrates, nor themselves, nor Zuinglius could by any means be perfect judges of.

A few years later, in 1528, the magistracy of Berne, which town is the same in Switzerland as Amsterdam is in the United Provinces, entered into a more solemn trial of this cause, and the senate, after hearing both sides for the space of two months, condemned the Romish religion. The decree was received without difficulty by the whole canton; and a pillar was erected, on which this solemn sentence was engraved in letters of gold, and it has ever since continued in full force.

The senates of Berne and Zurich had now given the people a new religion; but at Basel the people imposed it upon the senate. There were at that time thirteen Swiss cantons; the five smallest and poorest of these, namely Lucerne, Zug, Schwyz, Uri, and Unterwalden, which remained firm to the Catholic communion, began a civil war against the others. This was the first religious war between the Catholics and those of the reformed religion. In 1531 Zuinglius put himself at the head of the Protestant army, and was slain in the engagement. He was deemed a holy martyr by his own party, and an execrable heretic by the opposite one. The Catholics after their victory caused his body to be quartered by the executioner, and thrown into a fire. These were only the preludes to those extremes of fury into which both parties afterward ran.

The famous Zuinglius,[1] in establishing his sect,

[1] Zuinglius insisted on free will, whereas Luther adhered to grace. Calvin adopted the doctrines of grace and pre-

seemed more zealous for the cause of liberty than that of religion. He held it sufficient to be virtuous to merit eternal happiness, and that Cato, St. Paul, Numa, and Abraham enjoyed an equal portion of felicity. His religion was afterward called Calvinism, Calvin having given it his name, as Americus Vespucius gave his to the New World, first discovered by Columbus. Thus, in the space of a few years, there arose three new churches — that of Luther, that of Zuinglius, and the Church of England, all separated from the centre of union, and governed by their own laws. The Church of France, though it had never broken with its head, was nevertheless looked upon at Rome as a separate member, with regard to several points; such as the superiority of councils, the fallibility of the chief pontiff, some of the episcopal rights, the power of legates, the nomination to church livings, and the tributes paid to the holy see. The great society of Christendom resembled in one respect the heathen empires, which were in the beginning very poor republics; these republics in time became rich monarchies, and these monarchies afterward lost some of their provinces, which became republics.

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destination, consequently Calvinism was different from the religion of Zuinglius.

CHAPTER CIX.

LUTHERANISM IN SWEDEN, DENMARK, AND GERMANY.

DENMARK and all Sweden embraced the Lutheran religion. The Swedes listened chiefly to the dictates of revenge in throwing off the episcopal yoke of the Romish Church in 1523. They had long been oppressed by their bishops, especially by the archbishops of Upsala, who were primates of the kingdom; and they were still full of indignation at the remembrance of the cruelties which had been committed three years before by Archbishop Trolle. This prelate, who was minister to and accomplice of Christian II., surnamed the Nero of the North, and the tyrant of Denmark and Sweden, was a monster of cruelty, as detestable as Christian himself. He had obtained from the pope a bull against the senate of Stockholm, who had opposed his depredations and Christian's usurpations; but everything was now quiet, and the two tyrants, Christian and his archbishop, had sworn upon the Gospel to forget what had passed. The king gave an entertainment in his palace to two of the bishops, all the members of the senate, and ninety-four of the principal noblemen. The tables were all covered, and they were in the midst of their festivity and joy, when Christian and the archbishop arose from table and left the room, but presently returned again, followed by a band of armed men and executioners; and the archbishop

holding the pope's bull in his hand, gave orders to put all the guests to death. They ripped open the breast of the grand prior of the Order of Jerusalem, and plucked out his heart. The tyrants concluded their bloody feast by a massacre of all the common people, without distinction of age or sex.

These two monsters, who deserved to perish by the punishment which they inflicted on the grand prior, died in their beds. Christian, however, was driven from the throne. The famous Gustavus Vasa delivered his country from this tyrant, as we have already shown under the article on "Sweden;" and the four estates of the kingdom having decreed him the crown, he was one of the foremost to exterminate a religion which had been made the means of committing such execrable crimes.

Lutheranism was soon established without opposition in Sweden and Denmark, immediately upon the tyrant's being driven from the throne of these two kingdoms.

Luther now saw himself the apostle of the North, and enjoyed his glory in peace. In 1525 the dominions of Saxony, Brunswick, and Hesse, and the cities of Strasburg and Frankfort embraced his doctrine.

It is certain that the Romish Church stood in great need of reformation; this was acknowledged by Pope Adrian himself, who succeeded Leo X., and it is as certain that if there had not been some superior in the Christian world to determine the sense of the holy writings, and the particular tenets of

religion, there would have been as many sects as there are men able to read. For, after all, the divine lawgiver has given us but few written rules, and his disciples have been very sparing in their instructions; and those they have delivered are done in such a manner as makes them very difficult to be understood of themselves, almost every word being liable to a dispute.

But the Protestants of Germany, who were for following the letter of the Gospel, exhibited a strange scene some few years later by dispensing with an acknowledged law which seemed established beyond the reach of attack. I mean the law by which a man is allowed only one wife, which is a positive institution, and on which depend the peace and happiness of all the states and private families of Christendom.

Philip, landgrave of Hesse, who was the second protector of Lutheranism, wanted to marry a young lady named Catherine de Saal, while his first wife, Christina of Saxony, was yet living; and what is perhaps more extraordinary, it appears from some original papers relating to this affair that he conceived this design upon a scruple of conscience. Here is one of the wonderful examples of the weakness of the human mind. This prince, who was in other respects a wise man, and a good politician, seemed to think seriously that he might transgress a law, the justness of which he could not but acknowledge, provided he had the permission of Luther and his

companions. He delivered a remonstrance then to the heads of the Church, setting forth that the princess of Saxony, his wife, "was ugly, had offensive smells, and was frequently drunk." After this he generously confesses in his remonstrance that he had frequently fallen into the sin of fornication, and that his constitution required those pleasures. But what is not altogether so generous, he at the same time artfully hints to his doctors that, if they refused to grant him the dispensation he requires, he may possibly ask it of the pope.

Luther assembled a small synod at Wittenberg, consisting of six of the chief Protestant ministers. They were sensible that they were about to strike at a law that was observed even by those of their own sect. The examples of polygamy formerly given by Christian princes had been looked upon by all sober Christians as a great error. And though Emperor Valentinian the elder had married Justina while his wife, Severa, was yet living; and several kings of France had had two or three wives at a time, the transgression of a law is no authority for anyone. But the synod of Wittenberg did not consider marriage as a sacrament, but only as a civil contract; and declared that the Church allowed a divorce, though the Gospel forbade it; and moreover that the Gospel in no place expressly enjoins the having of no more than one wife: but, in short, the scandal appeared so plain that they were glad to conceal it as much as possible from the eyes of the people. In fine, this

permission for polygamy was signed, and the king was married to his mistress, even with the consent of the lawful wife herself.

Thus a thing which the popes had never dared to attempt, whose excessive power Luther had so severely attacked, was done by him, who had no power at all. This dispensation of his was at first kept private; but time reveals all secrets of this nature. This example has not, indeed, been followed since; but the reason is that a man seldom keeps two wives at the same time in his house, on account of the rivalry between them, which would occasion continual domestic strifes, and render three persons miserable. The law which permits a plurality of wives among the eastern people is the least regarded of any by private persons. They have, indeed, several mistresses; but perhaps there are not four Turks in all Constantinople that have a number of wives.

It would have been happy for the world if the innovations in religion had produced only scandals of this peaceable nature; but Germany became the theatre of the most bloody tragedies.

CHAPTER CX.

THE ANABAPTISTS.

Two MEN, natives of Saxony, whose names were Storck and Münzer, making use of some passages in Scripture, where it is said that no man is a disciple

of Christ unless he has received the inspiration of the Holy Spirit, pretended to be inspired themselves.

These were the first enthusiasts we hear of in these times; they insisted that all children should be baptized over again, because Christ did not receive baptism till he was an adult; from this doctrine they acquired the name of Anabaptists. They declared themselves inspired, and sent to reform the Romish and Lutheran communions, and destroy everyone who opposed the gospel they preached; founding their assertions on these words in Holy Writ: "I am not come to bring peace into the world, but a sword."

Luther had been successful in stirring up the princes, noblemen, and magistrates of Germany against the pope and the bishops. Münzer stirred up the peasants against them all. He and his companions went about addressing themselves to the inhabitants of the country villages in Suabia, Meissen, Thuringia, and Franconia. They laid open that dangerous truth which is implanted in every breast, that mankind are all born equal, saying that if the popes had treated the princes like their subjects, the princes had treated the common people like beasts.

It must be acknowledged that the demands made by the Anabaptists and delivered in writing in the name of the husbandmen and laborers were extremely just; but it was letting loose so many wild bears to make even a reasonable manifesto in their name. The cruelties which we have already

seen exercised by the commons of France and England in the time of Charles VI. were now revived in Germany, and carried to a greater height of fury by the spirit of fanaticism. These tribes of savage beasts, while they preached equality and reformation, committed the most dreadful ravages in all the places where they came, from Saxony to Lorraine; but at length they met with the common fate of all rioters who have not a skilful leader. After having committed the most shocking disorders, they were at length exterminated by the regular troops. Münzer, who had set himself up for a new Mahomet, perished upon a scaffold at Mülhausen. Luther, who had no actual share in these excesses, but who was nevertheless the primary cause of them, though unwillingly, by having been the first who levelled the bounds of submission, lost no part of his credit or reputation, but still continued to be esteemed a prophet in his own country.

CHAPTER CXI.

SEQUEL OF THE STATE OF LUTHERANISM AND ANABAPTISM.

THE emperor Charles V. and his brother Ferdinand were no longer able to stop the progress of the Protestants. The Diet of Spires, in 1529, in vain drew up moderate articles of pacification. Fourteen towns and several princes of Germany protested against the Edict of Spires; and it was this protest

which occasioned the name of Protestants to be afterward given to all the adversaries of the Romish Church; Lutherans, Zuinglians, Œcolampadians, Carlostadians, Calvinists, Presbyterians, Puritans, and the High Church and Low Church parties in England, all go under this general denomination. These altogether form an immense general republic, composed of various factions, which are all united against Rome, their common enemy.

In 1530 the Lutherans presented their confession of faith at Augsburg, and this confession, to which one-third of Germany adhered, has since been their constant guide. The princes of this party already began to cabal together against the power of Charles V., as well as against the court of Rome; but no blood was as yet shed in the empire on account of Luther or his cause. The Anabaptists, still carried away by their blind rage, and whom the exemplary fate of Münzer had not in the least intimidated, continued to lay Germany waste in the name of God. Fanaticism had never before produced a fury equal to this in the world. The peasants, who all thought themselves prophets, and knew nothing more of Scripture than that it commanded them to massacre without pity all the enemies of the Lord, in 1534 gained the upper hand in Westphalia, which was then the country of stupidity, and made themselves masters of the city of Münster, and expelled its bishops. They at first intended to establish a theocracy like that of the Jews, and acknowledge no other

master than God; but one Matthew, who was the chief prophet among them, having been killed, a journeyman tailor, called John of Leyden, from having been born at Leyden, in Holland, assured them that God had appeared to him, and appointed him king; and he made them believe all that he said.

The ceremony of his coronation was conducted with the greatest magnificence. There are still to be seen some pieces of the coins which he struck, with his arms on them, which were two swords placed across, in the same manner as the pope's keys. Thus, having become king and prophet at the same time, he despatched twelve apostles to declare his reign through all Lower Germany. As to himself, after the example of the king of Israel, he had several wives, and actually married seventeen at once. One of these having dropped some expressions against his authority, he cut off her head in presence of the others, who, either through fear or superstition, danced along with him around the bleeding trunk of their murdered companion.

The king-prophet had one virtue which is frequently found in robbers and tyrants; this was courage: he defended Münster against its bishop, Waldeck, with intrepid bravery, for the space of a whole year; and, though reduced to the last extremities of famine, rejected all accommodation. At length he was taken fighting, by the treachery of his own people; but even in captivity he still retained his unshaken pride. The bishop demanding of him

how he had the insolence to make himself king, this haughty prisoner demanded of him in his turn by what right a bishop had the insolence to be a temporal lord. "I was elected by my chapter," replied the bishop; "And I by God Himself," replied John of Leyden. The bishop, after having carried him about for some time from town to town, and exhibited him as we do a monster, caused his flesh to be torn off with red-hot pincers. But the punishment inflicted upon the king and his followers did not suppress the enthusiasm of this sect. Their brethren in the Low Countries were very nearly surprising the city of Amsterdam; but the conspirators, being discovered, were all put to death. The sect, however, still exists, but entirely different from what it was in its first origin; the descendants of these bloody fanatics are the most peaceable of men, wholly employed in their manufactures and trade, and of an industrious and charitable disposition. So extraordinary a change is almost without example; but as they make no figure in the world, it is hardly thought worth while to inquire whether they are changed or not, nor whether they are wicked or virtuous.

CHAPTER CXII.

GENEVA AND CALVIN.

As THE Anabaptists deserved to have the alarm sounded against them from every part of Europe, the Protestants, on the contrary, gained the greatest

commendation in the opinion of the people by the manner in which they established their new religion in many places. The magistrates of Geneva ordered public disputations to be held during the whole month of June, 1535, to which they invited the Catholics and Protestants of all countries. Four senators committed to writing whatever of consequence was said for and against. After this, the great council of the city examined with the utmost care the result of these disputes. The assemblies of Zurich and Berne had acted much in the same manner, though not so juridically, nor with so much deliberation and ceremony. At length the council condemned the Romish religion; and this inscription is still to be seen in the town-house, engraved on a brass table: "In remembrance of the divine goodness, which hath enabled us to shake off the yoke of Antichrist, to abolish superstition, and to recover liberty."

Accordingly, the Genevans recovered their real liberty. The bishops who, after the example of many other German prelates, disputed the right of sovereignty over Geneva with the duke of Savoy and the people, were obliged to fly, and leave the government to the citizens. There had for a long time been two parties in the city, the one Protestant and the other Catholic. The Protestants called themselves Egnots, from the word *"Eidgenossen,"*— "allied by oath." The Egnots prevailing, added some of the opposite faction to their communion,

and expelled the rest. Hence it came that those of the reformed religion in France had the name of Egnots, or Huguenots, given them; an appellation for which the greater part of the French writers have since invented many idle origins.

This religion of the Genevans was not absolutely the same as that of the Swiss nation; but the difference was very trifling, and their communion has never sustained any injuries from it. The famous Calvin, whom we look upon as the apostle of Geneva, had no part in this change: he retired some time after to this city, but was at first excluded, because his doctrine did not at all agree with the established one; however, he returned afterward and set himself up for the Protestant pope.

His true name was Chauvin: he was born in Noyon in France in the year 1509. He understood Latin and Greek, and was well versed in the wretched philosophy of his age. He was a better writer than Luther, but not so good a speaker; they were both laborious and austere, but rough and passionate; both full of ardor to signalize themselves and gain that ascendency over the minds of others which is so flattering to self-love, and which makes a kind of conqueror of a divine.

Those ignorant Catholics, who only know in general that Luther, Zuinglius, and Calvin were each of them married, and that Luther permitted the landgrave of Hesse to have two wives, imagine that these first founders of the reformed religion worked them-

selves into the good opinion of the people by flattering insinuations, and that they freed mankind from a heavy yoke, to impose a very light one upon them; but the contrary is the truth. They were men of the most rigid manners, and all their words were dipped in gall. If they condemned celibacy in the priests, and opened the gates of the convents, it was only to turn all society into a convent. Shows and entertainments were expressly forbidden by their religion; and for more than two hundred years there was not a single musical instrument allowed in the city of Geneva. They condemned auricular confession, but they enjoined a public one; and in Switzerland, Scotland, and Geneva it was performed the same as penance. There has been no gaining mankind, at least hitherto, by proposing to them only the simple and the easy; the master who is most rigid is always the most listened to. These reformers deprived men of their free will, and everyone flocked to them. Neither Luther, Calvin, nor any of the others were agreed concerning the eucharist; one, as I have already observed, saw God in the bread and wine, in the same manner as fire in a heated iron; another, like the pigeon, in which the Holy Ghost is said to reside. At first Calvin had a dispute with such of the Genevans as communicated with leavened bread, as he was for having unleavened bread used. He took refuge in the city of Strasburg, for he could not return to France, where fires were already lighted up in every part; and Francis

I. suffered the Protestants to be burned, while he was making an alliance with their brethren in Germany. Having married the widow of an Anabaptist at Strasburg, he afterward returned to Geneva, and took the sacrament with leavened bread, as others did; and soon acquired as great reputation in that city as Luther had done in Saxony.

Here he framed the tenets and discipline that are now observed by those whom we call Calvinists in Holland, Switzerland, and England, and which have so long divided the minds of the people in France. He also established synods, consistories, and the office of deacon; regulated the form of prayer and preaching; and even instituted a consistorial jurisdiction, that has a right of excommunication.

Calvin's religion is quite agreeable to a republican faith; and yet he himself was of a tyrannical disposition.

We have an instance of this in the persecution he raised against Castalion, a man of much greater learning than himself, whom he out of jealousy expelled from Geneva; and in the cruel death which he long afterward caused to be inflicted upon the unfortunate Michael Servetus.

CHAPTER CXIII.

CALVIN AND SERVETUS.

MICHAEL SERVETUS, a learned physician of Villanuova, in Aragon, merited the peaceable enjoyment of the reputation which was due to him for having discovered the circulation of the blood long before Harvey; but he neglected a useful art for a dangerous knowledge. He wrote concerning Christ's prefiguration in the Word, of the hypostasis or personality of the Word, of the beatific vision, of the angelic substance, and a book *"de manducatione superiori."* He partly adopted the ancient tenets of Eusebius and Arius, which prevailed in the East, and were in the sixteenth century embraced by Lelio Sozzini, and afterward received in Poland, England, and Holland.

He was of so open a disposition, that he wrote from Vienne, in Dauphiny, where he lived for some time, to Calvin concerning the Trinity. They carried on their dispute by letters for some time; but Calvin from disputation proceeded to invectives, and from these to a theological hatred, which is of all others the most implacable. Calvin had treacherously procured some sheets of a work which Servetus was privately printing; these he sent to Lyons, together with the letters he had received from him, an action which is alone sufficient to disgrace him forever with society; for that which is called the

spirit of society is infinitely more strict than all the synods in the world. Calvin caused Servetus to be accused by one of his emissaries. What a part for an apostle to act! Servetus, who was very sensible that in France every innovator was condemned without mercy to the stake, found means to make his escape, while they were preparing matters for his trial. Unfortunately for him he passed through Geneva on his way. Calvin informed against him, and caused him to be apprehended. But as the Genevans had a law, which should be imitated in all states, that the informer shall surrender himself prisoner, together with the person accused, Calvin caused the information to be given by one of his followers, who served him in the quality of a domestic.

When he saw his adversary in confinement, he loaded him with every kind of insult and vile treatment, as base minds are wont to do, when they get the upper hand. At length, by continually pressing the judges to employ the credit of those he pointed out to them, and by proclaiming in person, and by his emissaries, that God demanded the execution of Michael Servetus, he had him burned alive, and took a cruel pleasure in being a witness to his sufferings; he, who, if he had set a foot in France, would have been sent to the stake himself, and who had so loudly exclaimed against all persecution.

Our indignation and pity must be still increased when we consider that Servetus, in the works he

published, plainly acknowledged the eternal godhead of Christ; and that Calvin, in order to ruin him, had produced some private letters, written a long time before, by this unfortunate man to some of his friends, wherein he expressed himself somewhat too freely.

This deplorable catastrophe did not happen till the year 1555, twenty years after the Council of Geneva had made its decree against the Romish religion; but I give it a place here, in order to furnish a better insight into the true character of Calvin, who afterward became the apostle of Geneva, and of those of the reformed religion in France. But the most ample amends are now made to the ashes of Servetus. Several learned pastors among the English Protestants, and even some of the greatest philosophers, have embraced his opinion, and that of Sozzini: they have even gone farther than either of them: their religion consists in the adoration of one God, through the mediation of Jesus Christ. And here we give only a relation of facts and opinions, without entering into any controversy, or disputing against any person, reverencing what we ought to reverence, and confining ourselves wholly to historical fidelity.

The finishing stroke to this picture of Calvin may be found in a letter written with his own hand, which is still preserved in the castle of Bastie-Roland, near Montelimar: it is directed to the marquis de Poët,

high chamberlain to the king of Navarre, and dated September 30, 1561.

"Honor, glory, and riches shall be the reward of your pains; but above all do not fail to rid the country of those zealous scoundrels who stir up the people to revolt against us. Such monsters should be exterminated, as I have exterminated Michael Servetus, the Spaniard."

The faults of mankind are frequently allied to virtues. This harshness of Calvin's was joined to the greatest disinterestedness; for at his death the whole of his possessions was not worth more than one hundred and twenty gold crowns. His indefatigable application shortened his days; but it rendered his name famous, and procured him great reputation.

There are letters of Luther's, which breathe as turbulent and uncharitable a spirit as those of Calvin. The Catholics say they cannot conceive how the Protestants could acknowledge such men as apostles: to which the Protestants reply that they do not invoke as saints the authors of the Reformation; that they are neither Lutherans, Zuinglians, nor Calvinists; that they profess to follow the doctrine of the Primitive Church; that they do not canonize the passions of Luther and Calvin; and that the ferocity of their characters ought no more to make against their tenets in the minds of Protestants than the manners of Alexander VI. and Leo X., or the barbarities of certain persecutions, should

prejudice the Romish religion in the minds of Catholics.

This is a truly prudent reply; and moderation seems at present to have taken the place of ancient fury in both parties. Had the same spirit of bloodshed and cruelty always prevailed in religion, Europe would be only a vast burying-place. But the spirit of philosophy has at length blunted the edge of the sword; yet mankind were obliged to suffer two hundred years of mad cruelty, to arrive at these days of ease and tranquillity.

These commotions, which, by the events of war, restored so large a portion of the Church possessions into secular hands, did not enrich the theologians who were the promoters of those wars. They met the fate of those who made the charge, but do not partake of the spoils. The pastors of the Protestant churches had inveighed so loudly against the riches of the clergy that they imposed a kind of law of decency upon themselves, which prevented them from accumulating what they had so much condemned; and almost every crowned head kept them strictly to the letter of this law. The Calvinist and Lutheran pastors have in most places had such provision made for them as is necessary for their support, without allowing of luxury. The revenues of the monasteries have been almost all placed in the hands of the government, and applied to the use of hospitals. The only rich bishoprics remaining in Germany, whose possessions have not suffered

diminution, are those of Lübeck and Osnabrück. You will see, in casting your eye over the sequel of these revolutions, the whimsical but pacific agreement in the Treaty of Westphalia, by which this bishopric of Osnabrück has become alternately Lutheran and Catholic. The Reformation has been more favorable to the clergy in England than it has been to the Lutherans and Calvinists in Germany, Switzerland, and the Low Countries. In England, the bishoprics are all very considerable; the livings afford a handsome support; and the country curates there are much better provided for than they are in France. All the advantage reaped by the government and the laity was from the dissolution of the monasteries. There are several entire parishes in London which were formerly only one convent, but are now peopled with several numerous families. In general, every nation where convents have been converted to the use of the public, has, humanly speaking, been a gainer, without any person being injured: in fact, nothing is taken from a society which no longer exists; and there was no injury done but to a few temporary possessors, who left no descendants behind them to complain of what they had been stripped of. It was the injustice of a day, which has been productive of a benefit that will last for ages.

In the meantime, before this confusion could be properly reduced to order, the two parties of Lutherans and Catholics set all Germany in flames.

The Gospel religion, as it was called, was already — in the year 1555 — established in twenty-four cities and eighteen small provinces of the empire. The Lutherans wanted to humble the power of Charles V., and he on his side pretended to root them out of the empire. Alliances were made, and battles fought on both sides; but here we must follow the changes wrought in the minds of men, with respect to religious affairs, and see in what manner the Church of England was first established, and the schisms which happened in that of France.

CHAPTER CXIV.

KING HENRY VIII. AND THE CHANGE OF RELIGION IN ENGLAND.

EVERYONE knows that the separation between England and the see of Rome was caused by an amour of Henry VIII. What neither St. Peter's pence, the reservations and provisos, the annats, the levying of taxes, the sales of indulgences, nor five years of exactions, all constantly opposed by acts of parliament and the murmurings of the people, could bring to pass, was produced at length, or at least was first occasioned by a sudden love fit; and this mighty monument of the papal power, which had been so long and so furiously shaken by public hatred, was brought to the ground by the first stone which was flung against it.

Henry VIII., a man by nature sensual, violent,

and obstinate in his desires, had, among many other mistresses, one named Anne Boleyn, the daughter of a private gentleman of his kingdom. This young lady, whose free and sprightly carriage seemed to promise very little resistance, had still the prudence not to yield entirely; by which she so inflamed the king's passion that he resolved to make her his wife.

He had been married for over eighteen years to Catherine of Spain, daughter of Ferdinand and Isabella, and aunt of Charles V., who had borne him three children, of which there was one still living; this was the princess Mary, afterward queen of England. How then was he to procure a divorce, or annul his marriage with a person like Queen Catherine, whom he could not reproach with harshness, ill conduct, nor even that moroseness which is so frequently found in women of strict virtue? This princess was first married to Prince Arthur, eldest son of Henry VII., who died a few months after their nuptials. Henry VII. procured a dispensation from Pope Julius II., and made a contract of marriage between her and his second son, this Henry VIII., who, as soon as he came to the crown by his father's death, was solemnly espoused to her. A considerable time afterward he had a bastard by one of his mistresses, named Blunt. But he then had only conceived a dislike to his marriage, and no scruples of conscience; but as soon as he fell so passionately in love with Anne Boleyn, and found that he could not obtain her without marriage, he

instantly began to feel a remorse of conscience, and shuddered to think how much he had offended God by having lived eighteen years with Catherine as his wife. This prince, who still acknowledged the authority of the see of Rome, applied to Clement VII. to annul Pope Julius's bull, and declare his marriage with Catherine of Spain contrary to all laws, divine and human.

Clement VII., the bastard son of Julian of Medici, had lately seen the city of Rome sacked by the army of Charles V., and having but lately made peace with this prince, he was still apprehensive that he would get him deposed, on account of his illegitimacy. He therefore could by no means think of declaring his aunt a concubine, and her children bastards, who had been so long acknowledged legitimate. Nor could he, as pope, own that his predecessor had no title to grant a dispensation. And, on the other hand, it would have been sapping the very foundation of the papal power to acknowledge that there were any laws which the popes might not break through if they thought fit.

Louis XII. had caused his marriage to be dissolved; but his was a very different case from the present. Louis had no children by his queen, and Pope Alexander VI., who ordered this divorce, was connected in interest with that monarch.

Francis I. strongly supported Henry's cause at Rome, both as his brother-in-law and ally, and also as the enemy of Charles V., whose power had

already grown formidable. The pope, thus pressed between the emperor and these two kings; and being, as he expressed himself in one of his letters, "between the hammer and the anvil," had recourse to negotiations, delays, promises, and denials, hoping that Henry's passion would not last so long as an Italian negotiation; but here he was deceived; and the English monarch, who unfortunately happened to be a theologian, made his divinity subservient to his passion. He and his doctors had recourse to the Levitical law, which forbids anyone "to uncover the nakedness of his brother's wife, or to marry his wife's sister." The Christian states have long wanted, and still continue to want good positive laws. In their jurisprudence, which is yet barbarous in many respects, and composed of the ancient customs of five hundred petty tyrants, they are frequently obliged to have recourse to the laws of the Romans and Hebrews, like a man who has wandered out of the road, and is inquiring his way. They search in the Jewish code for rules to direct the practice of their tribunals.

But if we are to follow the Jewish matrimonial law at all, we should follow it in everything. We should condemn to death everyone who draws near to his wife at certain seasons which happen to the female sex; in a word, we should obey a number of injunctions, which are not made either for our climates or our manners, and are even contradictory to the new law.

This, however, was the least of the many errors committed by those who pretended to judge concerning Henry's marriage, by the principles of the Levitical law. They industriously concealed from themselves, that in Deuteronomy, one of those very books in which, according to our weak understandings, God sometimes appears to command contradictions in order to exercise the obedience of mankind, a man is not only permitted, but even enjoined, to marry his brother's widow, in case she has no children; and that the widow had a right to summon her husband's brother to fulfil this law; and in case of a refusal, to loose his shoe from his foot, and throw it in his face.

It afforded an extraordinary and curious spectacle to behold the king of England, on one side, soliciting the several universities of Europe to favor his passion, and the emperor, on the other, pressing them as warmly for their decision in favor of his aunt, and the king of France between both, standing up for the Levitical law against that of Deuteronomy, in order to make the breach irreparable between Henry of England and Charles V. The emperor lavished benefices upon those Italian doctors who wrote for the validity of Catherine's marriage; and Henry paid those as bountifully who gave their opinions in his favor. Time has at length unveiled these mysteries; and in the accounts of one of the king's private agents, named Crook, we find the following articles: "To a Servetian monk, one crown; to two

other monks, two crowns; to the prior of St. John, fifteen crowns; to John Marino, the preacher, twenty crowns." From this we find that the price was different, according to the credit of the suffrage; and yet this purchaser of theological decisions, after he turned Protestant, declared, in defence of his proceedings, that he had never bought a single opinion, nor given any sum of money, till after the decree was signed. At length, on July 2, the universities of France, and particularly the Sorbonne, came to a resolution that the marriage of Henry VIII. with Catherine of Aragon was unlawful, and that Julius had not power to dispense with the Levitical law.

Henry's agents went so far as to call in to their assistance the opinions of the Jewish rabbins; who acknowledged, that by the Deuteronomical law, a man was commanded to marry his brother's widow; but, said they, this law related only to the country of Palestine, and it is the Levitical law which ought to be observed in England. The universities and rabbins of the Austrian territories were of a quite different opinion; these, however, were not consulted.

Henry, thus provided with decisions, which he had purchased at a reasonable rate, pressed by his mistress' importunities, wearied with the pope's continual subterfuges, encouraged by Francis I., and depending on the support and authority of the clergy and universities of his own kingdom, and absolute

master of his parliament, caused his marriage to be annulled by Cranmer, archbishop of Canterbury, in 1533. The queen, after having with becoming boldness and modesty maintained her just rights, and objected to the authority of the court in such a manner as not to furnish any dangerous weapons against herself, retired from the capital, and left her bed and throne to her rival; and this favorite mistress, who was already advanced two months in her pregnancy when she was declared a wife and a queen, made her public entry into London with a pomp as much superior to the customary magnificence on those occasions, as her present exalted station was above her former fortunes.

Pope Clement VII. could not now avoid avenging the affront offered to Charles V. and the prerogatives of the holy see; and accordingly issued a bull against Henry VIII. The bull lost him the kingdom of England; for Henry, almost at the same time, got himself declared supreme head of the Church of England by his clergy, and the parliament confirmed this title and abolished the pope's authority throughout the kingdom, together with his annats, Peter's pence, and provisional grants. The nation cheerfully joined in taking a new oath to the king, called the "Oath of Supremacy;" and thus was the whole credit of the popes, which had lasted for so many centuries, overthrown as it were in an instant, and without contradiction, notwithstanding the desperate outcries of all the religious orders.

Those who pretended that no great kingdom could break with the pope without manifest danger, now saw that a single blow was sufficient to overthrow this venerable colossus, whose head was of gold, and his feet of clay. In fact the taxes which the court of Rome had so long imposed on the English were founded only on that people's willingness to be laid under contribution; but as soon as they resolved to be no longer so, it was found that a power founded only on force is nothing in itself.

The king made his parliament grant him the annats or first-fruits, which used to be collected by the popes. He created six new bishoprics, and ordered a visitation of all the convents in his name. In the accounts of this visitation, which are still to be seen, we find some scandalous excesses carefully exaggerated, some false miracles greatly multiplied, and some fictitious relics, which were said to have been made use of in several convents to increase the devotion of the people and bring in offerings. Several wooden figures were burned in one of the market-places in London, in 1535, which it was said the monks made move by means of springs.

But the people could not, without a mixture of horror and concern, behold the ashes of St. Thomas of Canterbury, whom the English nation still revered, committed to the flames, together with these instruments of pious fraud. The king appropriated the rich shrine in which they were contained,

and which was curiously adorned with jewels, to his own use. If Henry with justice reproached the monks with their extortions, he gave them equal reason by his proceedings to charge him with rapine. All the convents were suppressed in 1536; and such of the religious as, on account of their age, could not enter into the world again, had either places assigned for their retreat, or pensions allowed them. Their revenues were all placed in the king's hands; according to a calculation made by Burnet, they amounted to one million six hundred thousand pounds sterling; but this is exaggerating matters. The amount in effects and ready money was very considerable. With these spoils Henry founded and endowed six new bishoprics, and one college, bestowed large rewards on some of his servants, and converted the remainder to his own use.

This very prince, who had written so warmly in defence of the pope's authority, against Luther, now became an irreconcilable enemy to the see of Rome. But the same zeal, which had instigated him to oppose so vehemently the opinions of that arch-heretic and reformer, still induced him to adhere to the doctrine, though he had changed the discipline of the Romish Church.

He wanted to be the pope's rival, but without being either Lutheran or Sacramentarian. He still preserved the invocation of saints, but under certain restrictions. He ordered the Holy Scriptures to be read to the people in the vulgar tongue, but would

go no further. It was equally a crime to believe in the pope, and to be a Protestant; and he condemned to the flames those who spoke in favor of the Roman pontiff, and those who declared for the reformed religion of Germany.

The famous Lord Chancellor More and one Bishop Fisher were sentenced by the parliament, agreeably to the rigor of the late laws, to be beheaded, for refusing to take the oath of supremacy, which was, in other words, acknowledging Henry VIII. for pope of England; for Henry always made use of the sword of the law to cut off those who proved refractory.

Pope Paul III., who succeeded Clement VII., thought to save Fisher's life by sending him a cardinal's hat, while matters were preparing for his trial; but in this he only gave Henry the satisfaction of bringing a cardinal to the block. The king afterward set a price upon the head of Cardinal Pole, who had taken refuge at Rome, and inhumanly caused the mother of this prelate to be put to death by the hands of the executioner, without the least regard to her great age, or the royal stock from which she was descended. All this he did because they refused to acknowledge him as the English pope.

The king, having understood that there was at that time in London a learned Sacramentarian, called Lambert, resolved to have the glory of disputing with him before a grand assembly, sum-

moned for that purpose at Westminster. The end of this disputation was that the king gave his antagonist his choice either to be of his opinion or to be hanged. Lambert nobly made choice of the latter, and the king had the mean cruelty to order him to be executed. The English bishops, who were still Catholics, though they had renounced the jurisdiction of the pope, were animated with such furious zeal against the heretics that, when they condemned any of them to be burned, they granted forty days' indulgence to every person who brought wood to build the pile.

All these massacres were carried on by acts of parliament; and this show of justice, which is perhaps more detestable than the oppressive violence which defies all laws, was in a great measure the means of preventing civil wars. There were insurrections in some of the counties, but London, awed by its fears, remained perfectly quiet.

Thus did Henry VIII., by his policy and severity, render himself absolute master of his people. His will became the sole law of the kingdom; and those nominal laws by which they judged between subject and subject, were so imperfect, that at that time a person was sentenced to death upon the deposition of a single witness; and it was not till the reign of Edward VI. that the English, following the example of other nations, enacted as a law, that no person should be condemned without the deposition of two witnesses.

Anne Boleyn still enjoyed her triumph, under the protection of the king's authority. It is said that her ruin was secretly plotted by some of the friends of Rome, who hoped, that if they could bring about a separation between her and the king, the daughter of Catherine of Spain would succeed to the crown, and restore the religion which had been abolished in favor of this rival. The king, who had lately become enamored of Jane Seymour, one of the queen's maids of honor, greedily received the reports brought him against his wife. He was violent in all his passions; and now, without blushing or hesitation, accused his consort of adultery, before the house of peers. The parliament, which at that time was only the creature of the king's will, gave judgment against the queen; but on such slight evidence that, if a private person were to part with his wife on no stronger conviction of her guilt, he would pass for a very bad man. At the same time they condemned her brother to lose his head on pretence of having committed incest with her, though without the least proof. Two other persons were executed for having used some complimentary expressions to her, which might be spoken to any woman, and which the most virtuous queen might hear, when, in a gayety of humor, she indulges the persons about her in the freedom of conversation: and a musician was also hanged who had been prevailed upon to depose in court that he had partaken of her private favors, and who was never confronted

with her. The letter which the unfortunate queen wrote to her husband before she went to the scaffold is a strong proof of her innocence and resolution: "Your majesty has ever loaded me with favors and dignities," says she; "from a private woman you raised me to the rank of a marchioness, from a marchioness to be a queen; and now from a queen, you are this day pleased to make me a saint." In a word, Anne Boleyn was sent from a throne to a scaffold by the jealousy of a husband who had no longer any affection for her. She was not the only one of twenty crowned heads, who had met with a tragical end in England, but she was the first who had fallen by the hands of the executioner. The tyrant — for I can give him no other name — caused himself to be divorced from his wife before he put her to death, and by that means declared his daughter Elizabeth a bastard, as he had before illegitimatized his first daughter, Mary.

The very next day after the queen's execution, he married Jane Seymour, who died the following year, after having brought him a son.

In 1539 Henry contracted a new marriage with Anne of Cleves, of whom he became enamored by a flattering picture, which the famous Hans Holbein had drawn for her. But when he saw her in person, he found her so different from her picture, that in six months after he resolved on a third divorce. To bring this about, he told his clergy that he had never consented in his heart to marry Anne of

Cleves. No one could have had the impudence to make use of such a reason, without being very sure that those to whom it was offered would be mean enough to allow its validity. The bounds of justice and shame had been long broken through, and the clergy and parliament made no scruple of granting him a sentence of divorce; after which he married his fifth wife, Catherine Howard, who was one of his own subjects. Any other person than Henry would have been weary of continually exposing the real or pretended infamy of his family; but he, on the contrary, being informed that the queen, before her marriage, had had several gallants, in 1542 ordered her to be beheaded for past faults, which should not have been remembered, and which, at the time of their commission, did not merit so severe a punishment.

After being thus stained with the blood of two wives, and branded with the infamy of three divorces, he caused a law to be passed, equally shameful, cruel, ridiculous, and impossible to be executed; which was, that any person being privy to the gallantry of the queen, and not making the same known, should incur the penalties of high treason; and that every woman about to be married to a king of England, not being a virgin, is bound to declare the same under pain of punishment.

It was said by way of jest on this act — if there could be any jesting in such a court — that the king ought to marry a widow; which he accordingly did,

in 1543, in the person of Catherine Parr, his sixth wife, who very nearly experienced the fate of Anne Boleyn and Catherine Howard; not for any affair of gallantry, but for happening to differ sometimes from the king in matters of religion.

Some princes who have changed the religion of their kingdoms have become cruel and tyrannical from the opposition and rebellion of their subjects: but Henry was cruel by nature, and a tyrant in his government, his religion, and his family. Yet this man died in his bed, in 1547, and Henry VI., the most sweet-tempered of all princes, was dethroned, imprisoned, and assassinated.

This king's last illness furnishes us with a singular instance of the power of the English laws, so long as they remain in force, and of the strict observance which has in all times been paid to the letter, rather than the spirit of those laws. No person dared to acquaint Henry with his approaching end, because, a few years before, he had made the parliament pass a law, declaring it high treason in anyone who should foretell the death of the king. This law, as cruel as it was absurd, could not be founded on the pretence of the troubles arising about the succession, since the succession had already been settled in favor of Prince Edward; it was therefore only the effect of the tyrannical disposition of Henry VIII., his fear of death, and the general opinion which still prevailed concerning the art of knowing futurity.

CHAPTER CXV.

SEQUEL OF AFFAIRS RELATING TO RELIGION IN ENGLAND.

During the reign of Edward VI., son of Henry VIII. and Jane Seymour, the English were Protestants, because the sovereign and his council were such, and because the spirit of Reformation had already begun to take root. The Church of England was at that time partly Lutheran and partly Sacramentarian; but no one was persecuted on account of belief, except two poor Anabaptist women, whom Archbishop Cranmer, a violent Lutheran, insisted upon having burned, not foreseeing that he himself was one day to undergo the same fate. The young king refused for a long time to give his assent to the condemnation of these poor wretches; and when at length obliged to sign the warrant for their death, he shed a flood of tears. It was not sufficient to shed tears on such an occasion; he should have persisted in refusing to sign. But he was then only fourteen years of age, and could not be supposed to have any steady resolves, either with respect to good or evil.

Those who at that time went under the denomination of Anabaptists in England are the ancestors of the pacific Quakers, whose religion has been the object of so much ridicule, while at the same time we cannot forbear having an esteem for their man-

ners. These Anabaptists differed widely in point of doctrine, and still more in conduct, from the German Anabaptists, that uncivilized and brutal rabble, who, as we have already seen, carried the fury of wild fanaticism as far as it was possible for human nature to do, when left to itself. The English Anabaptists had not yet any settled body of doctrine among them, as indeed no sect raised from among the common people can have, till after a length of time; but it is very extraordinary that, though they made a profession of being Christians, without the least pretence to any kind of philosophy, they were in fact no other than deists; for they owned Jesus Christ only as a man to whom God had been pleased to impart a greater portion of pure knowledge than to the rest of mankind who lived at the same time. The most learned of them affirmed that the term "Son of God" signified no more with the Hebrews than a good or virtuous man, as the son of Belial, Satan, did a wicked man; and that most of the tenets which have been taken from the Scriptures are philosophic subtleties, which have been made use of to cover plain and natural truths. They denied the history of the fall of man, the mystery of the Holy Trinity, and consequently that of the incarnation. They absolutely rejected the baptism of children, and conferred a new one upon adults; several of them even looked upon baptism as only an old Eastern form of ablution adopted by the Jews, and afterward revived by John the Baptist,

and which was never put in practice by Christ upon any of his apostles. It was in this point that they principally resembled the Quakers, who have come after them; and this dislike to the baptism of children was the chief thing which procured them the appellation of Anabaptists. They pretended to adhere closely to the letter of the Gospel, and thought that dying for their sect was dying for Christianity; and in this they differed essentially from the deists, or God-worshippers, who established their private opinions more than ever in the midst of so many public sects.

These latter, who were more attached to Plato than to Jesus, and who were philosophers rather than Christians, being tired of the numberless and unhappy disputes about religion, somewhat too rashly rejected both divine revelation, which they found too much perverted by mankind, and human authority, which had been still more abused. They spread themselves throughout all Europe, and have increased in a surprising manner, without having formed themselves into either sect or society, or having ever rebelled against any power. This religion is the only one in the world that never had an assembly; very little has been written concerning it; it is peaceable, and has spread through every part without the help of communication. Formed originally of philosophers, who, by following the light of nature only, without instructing each other, have wandered in a uniform manner; from them it

spread itself among the middle class of people, who lead a life of ease consequent upon a limited fortune, and has since ascended to the great in all countries, but seldom has come down to the common people. England is, of all countries in the world, that wherein this religion, or rather philosophy, has with time taken the deepest root, and spread the most universally. Here it has communicated itself even to the artificers and country people, and the inhabitants of this island are the only people who have begun to think for themselves; but the number of these country philosophers is very inconsiderable, and will always continue so; for hard labor and argumentation agree but ill together, and the common people in general neither make a good nor a bad use of their understanding.

A fatal atheism also began to arise in most places in Europe from these theological divisions. It is said that there were a greater number of atheists in Italy at that time than elsewhere. The Italian philosophers were not led into these excesses by the disputes about doctrine, but rather by those irregularities into which almost all the courts of Europe, and that of Rome likewise, had fallen. In reading the Italian writings of those times with attention, we may perceive in several of them, that the authors being too forcibly struck with the monstrous excess of wickedness of which they speak, refused to acknowledge a divine being who could permit such crimes, and thought as Lucretius did.

This pernicious opinion prevailed among the great, both in England and France; but it was of short duration in Germany and the North, and there is no reason to apprehend that it will make any great progress; sound philosophy, morality, and the interests of society have now in a manner exterminated it; but at that time it was kept alive by religious wars, when an enthusiastic multitude were led by atheistic chiefs.

Edward VI. died in 1553, in the midst of these calamitous times, and on his deathbed declared his cousin, Lady Jane Grey, who was descended from Henry VII., heiress to his kingdom, in prejudice to his sister Mary, the daughter of Henry VIII. and Catherine of Spain. Jane was accordingly proclaimed in London; but Mary's right, assisted by a faction, got the ascendency after a very slight contest. Mary then confined her rival in the Tower, together with Princess Elizabeth, who afterward had so glorious a reign.

Much more blood was spilled on the scaffold than in the field upon this occasion. Jane Grey, her father, father-in-law, and husband were all condemned to lose their heads. This was the second queen who had been publicly executed in England. She was only seventeen years of age, and had been compelled to accept the crown: everything pleaded in her favor, and Mary should have dreaded a too frequent example of passing from the throne to the scaffold; but no consideration could stop her. This

princess was as cruel as Henry VIII., and as cool and deliberate in her barbarities as her father was rash and fiery. In a word, she was a tyrant of another species.

Wholly devoted to the communion of the Church of Rome, and still smarting with the sense of the indignity put upon her mother, she began by dint of art and bribery to get together a parliament of Catholics. The lords, who most of them knew no other religion than that of their sovereign, were easily won; and the same thing now happened in regard to religion that we have already seen happen in political matters, during the wars between the factions of the white and the red roses. The parliament then alternately passed sentences against the houses of York and Lancaster. In the reign of Henry VIII. they persecuted the Protestants; while Edward VI. was on the throne they protected and encouraged them, and at Mary's command they condemned them to the stake. It has been frequently asked why this dreadful punishment by fire is inflicted by Christians on those who happen to think differently from the established church, while the most atrocious crimes meet with a milder death? Bishop Burnet gives us this reason: that as it was the general belief that all heretics were condemned to be everlastingly burning in hell, though their bodies did not go thither before the resurrection, they thought to imitate divine justice by delivering their bodies to the flames in this world.

Cranmer, archbishop of Canterbury, who had assisted Henry VIII. in his first divorce, was condemned to this horrible death, not so much for having been the instrument of that act, as for being a Protestant. This prelate was weak enough to abjure his opinion: and Mary had the pleasure of sending him to the stake, after having brought infamy upon his character; but he resumed his courage in the midst of the flames, declared that he died a Protestant, and did that in reality which we find only written, and that perhaps fictitiously, of Mucius Scævola. He thrust into the flames the hand which had signed his abjuration, and held it there till it was quite consumed; then sank down into the fire and expired; an action as intrepid, and infinitely more praiseworthy than that which is attributed to Mucius. The Englishman punished himself for that which he thought a weakness in him, whereas the Roman did it only because he had failed in an intended assassination.

It is said that about eight hundred persons were burned during Mary's reign. One woman, who was big with child, was delivered in the flames, and some of the spectators, being moved with compassion, snatched the infant out of the fire, which the Catholic judge ordered to be cast back again. In reading these abominable deeds we can hardly think that we were born in a society of men, but rather among those beings which are represented to us in the midst

of a gulf of torments, waiting in eager expectation to hurry mankind into them.

Among all those whom Mary's cruelty condemned to be burned alive, not one was accused of rebellion against the lawful sovereign; they all suffered for religion: and while Jews were allowed to exercise their religion without interruption, and even indulged with privileges, Christians consigned Christians to the most shocking death, only for differing from them in certain articles!

Mary died in peace, in 1559, but despised by her husband, Philip II., and her own subjects, who still upbraid her with the loss of Calais, and her memory will forever be held in detestation by all who are not of a persecuting soul.

To Catholic Mary succeeded the Protestant queen, Elizabeth. The parliament now became Protestant again, together with the whole nation, which has ever since continued so. Religion was now fixed on a solid foundation; and the liturgy, which had been first begun in the reign of Edward VI., was established as it now subsists. The religion of the Church of England consists, in general, of the Romish form of church government, with some fewer ceremonies than are used by the Catholics, and some more than are practised by the Lutherans. It allows confession without enjoining it, and holds that God is in the eucharist, though without transubstantiation. It was necessary in politics that the crown should retain

the supremacy: accordingly, a woman became the head of the Church.

This woman had more understanding and a better mind than either her father, Henry VIII., or her sister Mary. She avoided persecution as industriously as they had encouraged it. Having perceived at her first coming to the crown that the preachers of both parties were the trumpets of discord in their pulpits, she issued an ordinance forbidding all preaching for the space of six months, without an extra licence signed by herself, in order to prepare the way for a general harmony. This new precaution kept those within bounds who thought they had a right, and might possibly have the power to stir up the people. No one suffered persecution, or was even called to account on the score of belief; but those who acted against law, or raised commotions in the state, were severely dealt with, according to law. The great principle which was so long mistaken by mankind was now firmly established in all minds in England, that it is the province of God alone to judge the hearts of those who offend him, and of men to suppress those who rebel against a government established by men. You will, in the course of this history, find what you should think of Elizabeth, and especially what opinion you should form concerning the English nation.

CHAPTER CXVI.

RELIGION IN SCOTLAND.

THE troubles which befell religion in Scotland were reflected upon it from England. It was about 1559 that certain Calvinists first ingratiated themselves into the favor of the people, whom it is always necessary to gain in the first place. They are open and artless, and of their own accord take the bridle that is held out to them, till some powerful person comes, who seizes it and guides them as is most for his own advantage.

The Catholic bishops were ready to condemn the few heretics who first appeared in the kingdom, to the flames; for this inhuman practice was as common in those days in Europe as it now is to hang a thief.

There happened at that time in Scotland what must necessarily happen in every country where there are the least remains of liberty. The sufferings of an old priest, whom the archbishop of St. Andrews had condemned to be burned, made a number of proselytes; and these, making use of their liberty, boldly circulated their new tenets in 1559, and opposed the archbishop in his cruelties. Several of the Scotch nobility acted, during the minority of Mary Stuart, as those of France did during the minority of Charles IX. By their ambition they added fresh fuel to the flames which had been lit by religion, and much blood was shed, as in other places

under like circumstances. It would have been much better for the Scots, who were then the poorest and most indolent people in Europe, to have applied themselves by labor and industry to till their barren and ungrateful soil, or at least to have procured that subsistence they stood in need of by fishing, than to have drenched their miserable country in blood for foreign opinions, and the interest of a few ambitious men among them; but they added this new misfortune to that of their natural indigence.

The queen-regent, mother of Mary Stuart, thought to stifle the reformed religion in its infancy, by sending for French troops; but by this very step she confirmed the change she proposed to prevent. The Parliament of Scotland, fired with indignation to see their country filled with foreign troops, obliged the regent to send them home, suppressed the Romish religion, and established the Genevan confession of faith throughout the kingdom.

Mary Stuart, who was the widow of the French king, Francis II., was a princess of weak talents, and seemed born only for love and gallantry; being obliged by Catherine de Medici, who feared her beauty, to quit France and return to Scotland, she found only a wretched kingdom, rent in pieces by fanaticism. You will see in what manner she added to the miseries of her country by her own follies.

Calvinism has at length gained the entire ascendency in Scotland, notwithstanding all the efforts of the Romish bishops then, and the bishops of the

Church of England since. It is now almost entirely suppressed in France; at least it is no longer tolerated there. Thus, since the sixteenth century, there has been one continued chain of revolutions in Scotland, England, Germany, Switzerland, Denmark, and France.

CHAPTER CXVII.

RELIGION IN FRANCE DURING THE REIGN OF FRANCIS I. AND HIS SUCCESSORS.

THE French were, ever since the time of Charles VII., looked upon at Rome as schismatics, on account of the pragmatic sanction made at Bourges, conformable to the Council of Basel, which had so strenuously opposed the papal power. The chief object of this pragmatic sanction was the custom of elections among the clergy, a custom which in better times had tended to the encouragement of virtue and sound doctrine, but had also proved the cause of numberless disputes. It was very pleasing to the people on two accounts: to rigid minds it had the appearance of the remains of the primitive church, and the universities found in it a recompense for their labors. The popes, however, notwithstanding that this pragmatic sanction had suppressed the annats and other exactions of the see of Rome, still continued to receive them. We are informed by Fromentau that, in the seventeen years' reign of Louis XII., the popes had raised in the diocese of

Paris alone the exorbitant sum of three million three hundred thousand livres of the current coin of those times.

When Francis I., in 1515, engaged in his Italian expeditions, which were in the beginning as glorious as those of Charles VIII. and Louis XII., and in the end proved still more unfortunate, Pope Leo X., who at first opposed him, stood afterward in need of his assistance, and became necessary to him.

Chancellor Duprat, who was afterward made cardinal, in conjunction with Pope Leo's ministers, drew up that famous concordat, by which, as it was said, the king and his holiness gave each other what neither of them had a right to. The king obtained the nomination of vacant benefices, and, by a private article, the first year's revenue was given to the pope, in consideration of his relinquishing his right of mandates, reservations, reversions, and forestallments, rights which the see of Rome had for a long time challenged. The pope, immediately after signing the concordat, published a bull, in which he served the annats to his own use. On this occasion the University of Paris, which by this bull was deprived of one of its rights, assumed a privilege, which even an English parliament would not venture to pretend to, and published an ordinance prohibiting the printing of the king's concordat, or paying any obedience to it. And yet the universities were not ill-used by this agreement between the king and the pope, since the third part of the benefices in the

kingdom were left to their disposal, with a right of suing for them during four months of the year, January, April, July, and October, which were called the graduates' months.

The clergy, especially those of the colleges, who were deprived of the right of nominating their bishops, murmured at it; but they were soon pacified by the hope of obtaining benefices from the court. The parliament, which had no favors to expect from the court, maintained with unshaken firmness the ancient customs and liberties of the Gallican Church, of which it was the defender, and respectfully opposed several cabinet orders, and, when at length compelled to register the concordat, entered a general protest that it was done only in obedience to the king's repeated commands.

But while the parliaments were thus remonstrating, and the universities complaining against this concordat, they seemed to have forgotten an essential service which Francis I. had done the nation by granting the annats to the pope. They had before his time been paid at an exorbitant rate, as in England, and he lessened them. At present they do not amount to over four hundred thousand francs, one year with another, and these are gained again in trade; but at length it became the cry of the whole nation to pay no annats at all to Rome.

The first years succeeding the concordat proved very troublesome times in several dioceses; when the king named one bishop, the canons named

another, and the parliament, in virtue of the writs of error, always decided in favor of the clergy. These disputes would have occasioned civil wars in the time of the feudal government. At length Francis took from the parliament the cognizance of affairs relating to bishoprics and abbeys, and transferred it to the great council of the kingdom. In time everything became quiet, and the people were as much accustomed to the concordat, as if it had always subsisted; and the complaints of the parliament ceased entirely, when in 1558 the king obtained of Pope Paul III. an indulto in behalf of the chancellors and members of the parliament, empowering them to do that in a less degree which the king does in a greater, namely, to confer benefices during their lives; and the masters of requests had the same privileges.

In all this affair, which occasioned so much uneasiness to Francis I., it was absolutely necessary for him to make himself obeyed, if he was desirous that Leo X. should fulfil his political engagements with him, and assist him in recovering the duchy of Milan.

It may easily be perceived that the intimate connection which subsisted between them at that time would not permit the king to let a religion be formed in his kingdom, which was repugnant to the interests of the papal see. The council was of opinion that every innovation in religion brought after it innovations in the state. Politicians sometimes deceive

themselves by judging from an example which strikes them. The council was right, if it had in view the troubles occasioned in Germany, which it helped to foment itself; and perhaps might on the other hand be wrong, if it considered the ease with which the kings of Sweden and Denmark had established the Lutheran religion in their dominions. It might have looked farther back, and seen more striking instances. The true religion had been introduced almost everywhere without any civil wars; in the Roman Empire by an edict of Constantine, in France by the will of King Clovis, in England by the example of a petty king of Kent, named Ethelbert, and in Poland and Hungary similarly. It was not much more than a century since the first of the Jagellonian race, who reigned in Poland, had embraced Christianity, and made all Lithuania and Samogitia do the same, without the ancient Gepidæ having once murmured. And though the Saxons had been baptized in torrents of blood by Charlemagne, it was only because he wanted to subject, and not instruct them. If they had cast an eye on the whole continent of Asia, they would have seen a number of Mahometan states peopled with both Christians and idolaters, who lived in harmony together; a number of different religions established in India, China, and other places, without the force of arms; and if they had recurred to the first ages, they would have still met with the same examples. It is not that a new religion is dangerous or

bloody in itself, but that the ambition of the great makes use of such religion to attack the established authority. Thus for instance, the Lutheran princes of Germany took up arms against the emperor, who was aiming at their destruction; but Francis I. and Henry II. had no princes nor nobles in their dominions, whom they had reason to fear.

The court, which became divided under the succeeding unhappy minorities, was perfectly united in its obedience to Francis I. Accordingly, this prince only suffered the heretics to be persecuted, without being the author of their persecutions himself. The bishops and the parliament lighted the fires, and he did not extinguish them.

He was indifferent about religion himself; he made alliances with the Protestants of Germany, and even with the Mahometans, to oppose Charles V., and when his allies, the Lutheran princes of Germany, accused him of having put their brethren in France to death, who had been guilty of no disturbances in that kingdom, he threw the whole blame upon the common judges.

We have seen what horrible cruelties were exercised by the judges in England, under Henry VIII. and Queen Mary. The French, who are esteemed a more humane people, far surpassed them in the barbarities they committed under the name of religion and justice.

It is necessary to know, that in the twelfth century one Peter Waldo, a rich merchant of Lyons,

whose devotion and errors are said to have given rise to the sect of the Vaudois, or Waldenses, having retired with some few poor people, whom he maintained by his charity, into the uncultivated and desert valleys which lie between Provence and Dauphiny, he officiated as father and pontiff to them; and instructed them in the tenets of his sect, which in several points resembled that of the Albigenses, of Wycliffe, John Huss, Luther, and Zuinglius. These men, who lived a long time unknown to the rest of the world, employed themselves in tilling the barren lands they inhabited, and, by incredible labor, made them fit for corn and pasture; which plainly shows how much we deserve to be accused of negligence, if there remain any uncultivated lands in France. They purchased some inheritances in Cens and the parts adjacent, and by their industry gained a comfortable support for themselves, and enriched their lords, who never found the least reason to complain of them. In the space of two hundred and fifty years, their numbers increased to nearly eighteen thousand souls. They peopled thirty villages, exclusive of hamlets, and all this by the work of their own hands. There were no priests among them, no disputes about worship, no lawsuits, they decided all their differences among themselves. Those who went into the neighboring cities knew that there were such things as a a mass, or bishops. They worshipped God in their own jargon, and their assiduous labor rendered their

lives innocent. They lived in this happy and tranquil state for more than two centuries, which is to be attributed to their neighbors having been wearied out by the war against the Albigenses. When the human mind has been for a long succession of time hurried away to the last excess of rage and fury, it softens at length into forbearance and indifference; this may be observed in every individual, and in whole nations. These Vaudois were in the enjoyment of this peaceful calm when the reformers of Germany and Geneva learned that they had brethren in these parts; and immediately sent ministers among them, for so they called the curates of the Protestant churches: and now the Vaudois came to be too well known. By the new edict against heretics they were condemned to the flames; and the Parliament of Provence, in 1540, denounced this punishment against nineteen of the principal inhabitants of the village of Merindol, at the same time ordering their woods to be destroyed and their houses razed to the ground. The Vaudois, struck with consternation, sent a deputation to Cardinal Sadolet, bishop of Carpentras, who was then at his bishopric. This illustrious sage, who was a true philosopher, as being a humane man, received them with kindness and interceded in their behalf; upon which Langeai, the commandant in Piedmont, put a stop to the execution, and Francis I. granted them his pardon, on condition that they would abjure their errors; but they could not be brought

to renounce a religion they had imbibed from their earliest infancy. Their obstinacy exasperated the Parliament of Provence, which was composed of men of a fiery zeal; and Jean de Maynier d'Oppède, at that time its first president, who was more violent than the rest, continued the persecution.

The Vaudois at length revolted; this exasperated d'Oppède to such a degree that he represented their fault in the blackest light to the king, and procured his permission to put the sentence in execution, after it had been suspended for over five years. For this purpose it was necessary to have troops, which were accordingly sent for by d'Oppède and Guerin, the advocate-general. It was very clear that these poor people, whom the famous orator, Maimbourg, calls a rebellious mob, though they were somewhat too obstinate in adhering to their opinion, were not in the least disposed to revolt, since they did not offer to defend themselves, but fled on all sides, crying out for mercy; while the old men, women, and children, who could not fly so fast as the rest, were butchered without mercy by the soldiers.

D'Oppède and Guerin flew from village to village, killing all they met, burning their houses and granaries, and destroying all the standing corn and trees, and pursued the flying inhabitants by the light of the flames. There remained about sixty men and thirty women in the walled town of Cabrières, who yielded upon promise of having their lives spared; but as soon as they surrendered themselves, they were all

put to the sword; some women who had taken refuge in a neighboring church, were by d'Oppède's orders dragged forth, and shut up in a barn, which was set on fire. Twenty-two villages were burned to the ground; and after the flames were extinguished, the country, which before wore the face of plenty, and was so well inhabited, appeared a perfect desert, in which nothing was to be seen but dead bodies. The few who escaped took refuge about Piedmont. Francis I. was struck with horror on hearing of these cruelties. The sentence which he had permitted to be executed, mentioned the death only of nineteen heretics, and d'Oppède and Guerin had caused thousands to be massacred. The king, on his deathbed, recommended his son to see justice done on the authors of this barbarity, the like of which had never been committed by any civil magistrates.

Accordingly Henry II. gave his consent for the lords who had been ruined by the destruction of these villages, and the butchery of their people, to bring their complaints before the Parliament of Paris. When the trial came on, d'Oppède had sufficient interest to get himself cleared, by throwing the whole blame upon the advocate-general, Guerin, whose single life was the only atonement made for the blood of so many hundreds.

These executions, however, did not stop the progress of Calvinism; one party employed fire and fagot, and the other diverted themselves with singing

Marot's version of the Psalms to ridiculous tunes, agreeable to the genius of the French nation, which is at all times light, and sometimes very cruel. Margaret, queen of Navarre, and sister of Francis I., and all her court were Calvinists, as was one-half of the king's court. What had first begun among the common people had now communicated itself to the great, as is almost always the case. They preached in private, and they disputed publicly; and these disputes, about which no one at present either in court or city gives himself any concern, because they are old, exasperated all minds at that time, because they were new. Even in the Parliament of Paris itself, there were some members that were well-wishers to what was called the reformed religion. This assembly was always opposing the pretensions of the Church of Rome, which this new heresy likewise aimed at overthrowing; but the austere and republican spirit of some of the counsellors led them to favor a sect, which, by the severity of its tenets, condemned the debaucheries of the court. Henry II., being displeased with the conduct of several of the members of this memorable body, came one day upon them unexpectedly in the great hall where they were sitting, at the very time that they were deliberating upon methods for moderating the persecution against the Huguenots, and ordered five counsellors to be put under arrest. One of these, named Anne du Bourg, who had spoken with the most freedom, signed his confession of faith in the

Bastille, which was found to agree in many articles with that of the Calvinists and Lutherans. There was at that time an inquisitor in France, though the office of the Inquisition itself, which has been always held in horror by the French, was not established. This inquisitor, whose name was Mouchi, together with the bishop of Paris and the commissaries of the parliament, tried and condemned du Bourg, notwithstanding the old established law by which a member of parliament could only be tried by the courts of parliament assembled; a law which has always subsisted, been always claimed, and almost always proved useless; for nothing is more common in the history of France than to find members of the parliament tried by other courts. Anne du Bourg then was executed in the reign of Francis II. The cardinal of Lorraine, who governed the state with a high hand, was resolved upon his death; and, in 1559, this priest and magistrate was hanged, and his body afterward burnt in the Place de la Gréve. He was of a disposition rather too inflexible, but was an upright judge, and a man of approved virtue.

Martyrs make proselytes. The sufferings of such a man gained more converts to the reformed religion than all the writings of Calvin. A sixth part of the kingdom of France were Calvinists under Francis II., as one-third of Germany at least were Lutherans under Emperor Charles V.

There was then only one choice left, which was to follow the example of Charles V., who concluded

his many wars by allowing his subjects liberty of conscience, or that of Queen Elizabeth, who, while she protected the established religion, left everyone to worship God agreeably to his own principles, provided due obedience was paid to the laws of the kingdom.

This is the practice at present in almost all those countries which were formerly laid waste by religious wars; a long and fatal experience having shown it to be the most salutary method of governing.

But this method cannot be adopted unless the laws are firmly established, and the rage of faction has subsided. France was continually a prey to the most bloody factions, from the time of Francis II. till the glorious reign of Henry the Great. In these disastrous times the laws were little known, and the fanatic spirit which survived the furies of war, brought this monarch to an untimely end in the midst of profound peace, by the hand of a madman and a fool, who had made his escape from a cloister.

Having thus acquired a competent idea of the state of religion in Europe during the sixteenth century, it now remains to say something concerning the religious orders which opposed the new opinions, and of the Inquisition, which labored to exterminate all the Protestants.

CHAPTER CXVIII.

THE RELIGIOUS ORDERS.

THE monastic life, which has done so much good and so much harm in the world, which has been one of the main props of the papal power, and which gave birth to the person who suppressed that very power in half of Europe, merits our particular attention.

It has been believed by a number of Protestants and others, that the several bodies of church militia, together with their different habits, ways of living, occupations, and rules, were all invented by the popes, as so many armies devoted to the service of the holy see, in all the states of Christendom. It is certain that the popes have often made use of them, but they did not invent them.

In the earliest ages of antiquity, there were among the Eastern people certain men, who withdrew themselves from the world to live together in retirement. The Persians, Indians, and Egyptians, especially, had several communities of Cenobites, or monks independent of those who were dedicated to the service of the altar, but among the Greeks and Romans there were none. Their colleges of priests were particularly set apart for the service of their temples, and a monastic life was wholly unknown to these people. The Jews had their Essenians and Therapeuts. The Christians have imitated them.

St. Basil,[1] in the beginning of the fourth century, instituted his order in a barbarous province, on the borders of the Black Sea; and his rules were followed by all the Eastern monks. He invented the three vows, to which all the recluses submitted. St. Benedict,[2] or St. Bennet, established his order in

[1] St. Basil the Great was born at Cæsarea in Cappadocia, in the year 326. He was educated under the famous Libanius at Antioch and Constantinople, and finished his studies at Athens, where he contracted friendship with St. Gregory of Nazianzen, and Julian the Apostate. He afterward visited the monasteries in Syria, Egypt, and Libya, and became so enamored of a monastic life that he retired to a solitary place in the province of Pontus in Cappadocia. There being joined by his brothers and several friends, he composed the rules of an order, and was the first institutor of a monastic life in that country. In the sequel he was elected bishop of Cæsarea, and persecuted by the emperor Valens, because he would not communicate with Eudoxus, and embrace the doctrine of the Arians. He had many disputes about Arianism and the nature of the hypostasis, composed a variety of works, and was, of all the Greek fathers, the most pure, sublime, and elegant writer.

[2] St. Benedict was born about the latter end of the fifth century, in the duchy of Spoleto in Italy, and studied at Rome. At the age of seventeen he retired to the desert of Sublaco, at the distance of forty miles from that city, and lived three years in a frightful cavern. He was afterward elected abbot of a neighboring monastery, but being disgusted with the manners of the monks, he once more retired to solitude, where he was in a little time joined by such a number of disciples that he built twelve monasteries. Understanding there was a temple of Apollo on Monte Cassino, he went thither, converted the inhabitants, demolished the idol, built two chapels on the mountain, and laid the foundation of the famous monastery of Monte Cassino.

the sixth century, and was the patriarch of the Western monks.

It was for a long time a consolation to mankind to find asylums open for the reception of those who were desirous of flying from the oppressive government of the Goths and Vandals. Almost everyone who was not a lord of a castle was then a slave; the tranquillity of a cloister afforded a happy retreat from tyranny and war. By the feudal laws of the West indeed a slave could not be admitted a monk without the consent of his lord, but the convents had a method of eluding this law. The small remains of learning left among the barbarians were preserved in these convents. The Benedictine monks transcribed several books, and by degrees many useful inventions arose from the cloisters. Moreover, these religious communities employed themselves in cultivating the land, and singing the praises of the Deity; they lived a life of sobriety, they were hospitable to strangers, and by their example, in some measure helped to soften the ferocity of those barbarous times; but complaint was soon made that riches had corrupted what virtue had instituted; a reformation then became necessary. Every age produced men in all countries, who, animated by the example of St. Benedict, were desirous of becoming founders of new congregations.

There he composed his rule, and founded the order of Benedictines, who in a little time spread themselves all over Europe.

The spirit of ambition is almost always accompanied by enthusiasm, and imperceptibly mingles itself with the most rigid devotion. He who entered into the ancient order of St. Benedict became a subject; but he who founded a new institution raised to himself an empire. Thence arose the multitude of clerks, canons-regular, and religious of both sexes. Everyone who attempted to found a new order was well received by the popes, because they all became immediately subject to the holy see, by throwing off as much as possible all subjection to their bishops. Most of these orders have generals residing at Rome, as in the centre of Christendom, who from this capital despatch the orders they receive from the pontiff to all corners of the world.

In the beginning of the sixteenth century, almost all the states of Christendom were overrun by men who were aliens in their own country and subjects of the pope. Another great abuse was that these immense families increased at the expense of the human species. It is a certain truth, that before convents were suppressed in one-half of Europe, they contained more than five hundred thousand persons. The country places were depopulated, the settlements in the new world were destitute of inhabitants, and the scourge of war daily destroyed a number of valuable lives. As it is the business of every wise ruler to encourage the increase of his subjects, it is doubtless acting contrary to that noble principle, to countenance such a multitude of people of both sexes,

who are lost to a state, and who bind themselves by oath to do all in their power for the destruction of the human species. It were to be wished that some retreat was appointed for old age; but this necessary institution is almost the only one which has not been attended to. Our cloisters are filled with those who are hardly arrived at the age of maturity, and who are allowed to part with their liberty forever, at a time when, in other nations, they are not permitted to have the disposal of their own fortunes.

It cannot be denied that the convents have produced many instances of shining virtue. There are few monasteries which do not contain some noble minds, who do honor to human nature. Too many writers have taken a malicious pleasure in enumerating the dissolute manners and vices which have sometimes sullied the purity of these asylums of devotion. It is certain that the secular state abounds with many more instances of vice, and that the greatest crimes have not been committed in monasteries alone; but they are more remarkable there on account of their evident contradiction to the established rules. No state can have been always free from impurities; therefore we should here consider only the general good of society, and in this light we cannot but lament that so many noble talents have been buried, and so many virtues lost in retirement, which might have been useful to the world. The small number of convents at the beginning did great service. A few in proportion to each state would

have been truly respectable; but by being excessively multiplied, they fell into contempt, insomuch, that the priests, who were at first equal with the bishops, are now in comparison to them the same as the common people are to princes.

In this great multitude of religious orders the Benedictines always held the first rank. Wholly taken up with their power and riches, they took no part in the scholastic disputes of the sixteenth century, and looked upon the rest of the monks as the old nobility do upon the new. The monks of Cluny, Citeaux, Clairvaux, and several others, were branches of the original stock of St. Benedict, and in the time of Luther were known only by their great wealth. The rich abbés of Germany lived quietly in the respective states, without intermeddling in controversy; and the Benedictines of Paris had not then employed their leisure hours in those learned inquiries, by which they have since gained such a great reputation.

The Carmelites, who were transplanted into Europe from the Holy Land, in the fifth century, desired no more than to have it acknowledged that Elias was their founder.

The Carthusian order, which was instituted at Grenoble, toward the end of the eleventh century, and which was the only one of the ancient orders which did not stand in need of reformation, was a very small body, and though too rich indeed for men who had divorced themselves from the world,

still continued, notwithstanding their wealth, in the strict observance of fastings, silence, prayer, and solitude. They led a life of tranquillity, amidst the general tumults which distracted the rest of the world, of which they hardly heard the rumor; and knew nothing of the mighty sovereigns of the earth but by name when they prayed for them. Happy would it have been if such pure and steady virtues could have been of any service to the world!

The Premonstrant of Norbertines, founded by St. Norbert,[1] in the year 1120, made very little noise in the world, by which they were so much the more valuable.

The Franciscans, or Cordeliers, were the most numerous and stirring of any of the orders. Francis d'Assisi,[2] who first founded this order in the year

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[1] This saint was born in the duchy of Cleves, in the year 1082, son of the Count de Gennep, and related to the emperor Henry V., who appointed him his almoner, or chaplain, and offered him the archbishopric of Cambray, which he refused. Tired of a court life, he resigned his benefices, sold his patrimony, and distributed his money to the poor; then he went teaching and preaching from place to place until St. Bernard gave him a solitary valley, called Premontré, where he founded the order of canons regular. He was afterward forced to accept the archbishopric of Magdeburg, and thither translated his canons, whose austere life astonished the canons of that see, and had well nigh excited a rebellion against their founder.

[2] He was a native of Assisi in the ecclesiastical state, and bred up to business; but he renounced all property, made profession of evangelical poverty, retired to the woods, and subjected himself to such hideous mortifications that his

1210, was esteemed by them as a man superior to all the rest of human kind. They compared him to Christ himself, and pretended that he performed many more miracles. He performed no inconsiderable one indeed in having founded this great order, which increased to such a degree, that, at a general chapter, which he held at Assisi, in the year 1219, he saw five thousand deputies from the convents of his institution. And at this time, notwithstanding the prodigious number of converts which have been taken from them by the Protestants, they have still seven thousand houses for monks under different denominations, and more than nine hundred convents for women. In some of their late chapters, they reckoned about one hundred and fifteen thousand men, and twenty-nine thousand women; an intolerable nuisance in countries where there is an evident decrease of the human species.

These men were violent in all their pursuits. They were preachers, divines, missionaries, mendicants, and spies. They traversed the globe from one end to the other, and were everywhere at open enmity with the Dominicans. Their chief theological dispute with these latter is concerning the birth of Christ's

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countrymen looked upon him as a lunatic; his father brought him back to his house and confined him; but finding him averse to any temporal employment, he carried him before the bishop, and there Francis stripped himself naked. He founded his order in the year 1206, and by the whole tenor of his conduct appears to have been a miserable fanatic.

mother. The Dominicans affirm that she was subject to the power of the devil, like the rest of mankind; and the Cordeliers insist that she was wholly exempt from original sin. The Dominicans rest their opinion on that of St. Thomas;[1] and the Franciscans hold their tenets to be the same as those of John Duns,[2] a Scotchman, improperly called Scotus, and known to his contemporaries by the title of "The Subtle Doctor."

The political disputes between these two orders arose from the great credit and influence acquired by the Dominicans.

The latter of these orders, which was instituted some little time after that of the Franciscans, was inferior to these in numbers, but was much more powerful, on account of the office of master of the pope's palace at Rome, which, ever since the time

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[1] This was the famous St. Thomas d'Aquinas, descended from the counts d'Acquins. He was styled "the Angel of the School," "the Angelical Doctor," and "the Eagle of Theology." His treatises on syllogism, sophism, and demonstration, contain an abridgment of the whole dialectic art of Aristotle, and have been deemed a complete body of logics.

[2] John Duns, alias Duns Scotus, born at the town of Duns in Scotland. He professed the order of St. Francis, and flourished in the beginning of the fourteenth century. For his profound knowledge and the perspicuity with which he explained the greatest difficulties in philosophy and theology, he was denominated "Doctor Subtilis," and piqued himself on opposing the opinions of St. Thomas. Hence arose the two sects of Scotists and Thomists.

of St. Dominic,[1] their founder, has been appropriated to this order, and the office of the Inquisition, of which one of their fraternity is always president; and for a long time their generals had the sole nomination of all the inquisitors in Christendom. The popes, who have this nomination at present, always continue the meeting of this office in the convent of Minerva, which belongs to the Dominicans; and this order still appoints monks inquisitors to thirty tribunals in Italy, without reckoning those of Portugal and Spain.

As to the Augustines, they were originally a society of recluses, to whom Pope Alexander IV., in 1254, gave a body of rules. Though the pope's sacristan was always chosen from their order, and they had the sole right of preaching and selling indulgences, they were neither so numerous as the Franciscans, nor so powerful as the Dominicans; and are very little known at present in the secular world, otherwise than by having had Luther for one of their order.

I purposely pass over a great number of different communities, as this general plan will not allow me

[1] Dominique de Guzman was born a gentleman in Spain, with all the seeds of bigot zeal and fanaticism, which produced the most shocking fruit of cruel persecution. He accompanied Simon de Montfort in his expedition against the Albigenses, among whom this Spanish fanatic exercised the most inhuman barbarities. Being appointed inquisitor in Languedoc, he there laid the foundation of his order, which Pope Honorius approved in 1216.

to make a review of every regiment in this monastical army. But the order of Jesuits, which was founded in Luther's time, demands particular attention. The Christian world has exhausted itself in the praise and blame of this order, which has insinuated itself everywhere, and has everywhere had enemies. A great many people think that it owed its foundation to a stretch of politics; and that of St. Ignatius designed by this institution to subject the consciences of all crowned heads to his order, to give it the mastery over the minds of the people, and form it into a kind of universal monarchy.

Ignatius de Loyola, however, was very far from having any such design; and indeed was never in a condition to form any such pretensions. He was a private gentleman of Biscay, a man of no learning, but with a romantic turn of mind, fond of books of chivalry, and very enthusiastic. He served as a soldier in the troops of Spain, at the time that the French, who vainly attempted to recover Navarre from the hands of its usurpers, were besieging the castle of Pampeluna in 1521. Ignatius, who was then about thirty years of age, was one of those who defended that castle, and was wounded in the assault. A book of the lives of the saints, which had been given him to read when he was convalescing, and a vision which he fancied he saw, determined him to make a pilgrimage to Jerusalem. From that time he devoted himself to the mortification of his appetites and passions; and it is reported that he

passed seven days, and as many nights, without tasting meat or drink; a thing which is hardly credible, but shows a weak imagination and a very robust constitution. Ignorant as he was, he went about preaching through all the villages. Everyone knows the rest of his adventures, that he watched his arms all night, caused himself to be dubbed the Virgin Mary's knight, offered combat to a Moor who had spoken disrespectfully of this lady whom he served, and left it to his horse to decide the affair, which took a different road from the Moor's steed. After this he resolved to go and preach the Gospel among the Turks, and got as far as Venice on his way, when reflecting that he could not speak Latin, a tongue which, by the way, was of very little service among the Turks, he returned at the age of thirty-three, and entered school at Salamanca.

Being imprisoned by the Inquisition for having taken the direction of consciences and making pilgrimages, on recovering his liberty, he went to finish his studies at Paris, where he fell into company with some of his own nation, who were, like himself, poor and destitute of any settled habitation. They joined company, and repaired to Rome in 1537, where they presented themselves to Pope Paul III. in the character of pilgrims, who were desirous of making a journey to Jerusalem, in order to form a private community. Ignatius and his companions were men of some merit, wholly disinterested, self-denying, and full of zeal. We must acknowledge that Ignatius

himself was fired with the ambition of becoming the head of an order. This species of vanity, in which the ambition of commanding had a great share, became strongly rooted in a heart which had made a sacrifice of all its other passions, and operated the more powerfully as it was connected with some virtues. If Ignatius had not had this passion, he would have followed the example of his companions, and entered into the order of the Theatins, which had been lately founded by Cardinal Cajetan. But the good cardinal in vain solicited him to become a member of his community; the desire of being a founder himself prevented him from entering into any other order.

A journey to Jerusalem being at that time attended with great danger, Ignatius found himself obliged to remain in Europe. Having learned a little grammar, he applied himself to teaching it to children. His disciples seconded his design with great success: but this very success proved the source of many troubles; the Jesuits met with formidable rivals in the universities, where they were received; and the towns where they taught, taking part with the universities, became the theatres of numberless divisions.

But if the desire of instructing, which charity dictated to this founder, was productive of many fatal events, on the other hand his humility and that of his followers, who would never accept of any church dignities, was the means of raising his order

to its present pitch of greatness. Most crowned heads chose Jesuits for their confessors, that they might not be obliged to purchase absolution with a bishopric; and the place of confessor had frequently been found of more importance than a bishop's see. It is a private office whose power increases in proportion to the prince's weakness.

At length Ignatius and his followers, who found great difficulty in procuring a bull from the pope for the establishment of their order, were advised to add to the three common vows, a particular one of obedience to the pope; and this fourth it was which afterward gave rise to those missionaries who carry the religion and glory of the supreme pontiff to the extremities of the world. Thus did a person, the least versed in politics of any of his time, give birth to the most political of all monastic orders. In matters of religion, enthusiasm always lays the first stone; but art completes the building.

We have since seen the Jesuits holding the reins of government in most courts in Europe, raising a great name by their learning, and the education of youth; going to China to remodel the sciences, converting Japan for a time to Christianity, and giving laws to the people of Paraguay. There are at present more than eighteen thousand of this order in the world, all subject to one perpetual and absolute general, and preserved in union with one another, solely by that obedience which they have vowed to a single person. Their government has become the

model for a universal monarchy. Some of their convents are very poor, and others very rich. Don John de Palafox, bishop of Mexico, wrote thus to Pope Innocent X. about one hundred years after the first institution of this order: "I have found almost all the riches of these provinces in the hands of the Jesuits. They have two colleges, which are in possession of three hundred thousand sheep, six large sugar-works, of which some are worth nearly a million crowns, and several very rich silver mines, so considerable that they might suffice a prince superior to all the sovereigns of the earth." These complaints may seem exaggerated, but were certainly founded in truth.

This order met with great obstacles before it could establish itself in France, and nothing less could be expected. It had taken its rise and had grown under the house of Austria, by whom it was still protected. The Jesuits, in the time of the League, were pensioners of Philip II. The other religious orders, who all took part in these troubles, except the Benedictines and Carthusians, fed the fuel of discord only in France: but the Jesuits blew the coals from their seminaries in Rome, Madrid, and Brussels, even to the heart of Paris, which a succession of happier times extinguished.

Nothing can appear more contradictory than the public odium with which these people have been loaded, and the confidence they have acquired: that spirit which has banished them from almost every

country, and restored them again with glory; the prodigious number of their enemies, and the esteem of the people. But we have met with instances of the same contradiction in the mendicant orders. In all numerous societies, devoted to religion and the sciences, there are always some turbulent and fiery spirits, which make themselves enemies, and others, who by their learning acquire reputation; some, who by their insinuating behavior, raise parties and factions, and some, who by a sound policy take advantage of the genius and labor of the others.

The Fathers of the Oratory in France are a new order entirely different from any of the rest. Their community is the only one which makes no vows, and where repentance never enters. Their retreat is always voluntary. The rich live at their own expense, the poor are supported by the order. They enjoy a freedom becoming to men, and with them virtue is never disgraced by superstition or meanness.

There is a powerful emulation between these several orders, which has frequently broken out in a furious jealousy. The hatred between the white and the black friars — the Dominicans and Franciscans — continued with the utmost fury for several ages. These two orders were naturally enemies to each other, as has been elsewhere observed. Each order seemed to rally under a different standard: what is called the spirit of the community inspired all societies.

Those orders which were devoted to the relief of the poor and the service of the sick have always been of the least note, though not the least esteemed. What can be more noble in the world than the sacrifice made by the tender sex, of their youth and beauty on these occasions; who, though frequently of the most distinguished birth, stoop to do the meanest offices in the hospitals, for a number of miserable wretches, whose appearance is mortifying to human pride, and shocking to delicacy? Those who have separated themselves from the communion of the Church of Rome have but faintly imitated this noble and generous charity.

This useful community is, however, very small. There is another community of a more heroic kind; for so I think we may term the order of Trinitarians, for the redemption of captives, which was instituted in the year 1120, by a gentleman named John de Matha. These monks have devoted themselves for five centuries past to the releasing of Christian slaves from the fetters of the Moors, and pay for their ransoms out of the revenues of their order, and the alms they receive, which they gather themselves, and carry in person into Africa.

No one can complain of an institution of this kind; but it is a general complaint that the monastic life has deprived society of too many of its members. The nuns in particular are dead to their country, and the tombs they inhabit during their lives are in general very poor. A young woman who gains her

livelihood by working with her needle earns much more than is laid out for the maintenance of a nun. In short, their fate might claim our pity, if the number of convents of men who are immensely rich could raise our envy. But it is evident that their great numbers would depopulate the state; for this reason the Jews never had any female Essenians or Therapeuts. There is no one retreat set apart for virginity in all Asia; and the Chinese and Japanese alone have female bonzes: but who knows whether these are absolutely useless in their generation? There were never more than six vestals in ancient Rome, and these were allowed to quit their retreat and marry after a stated time.

Policy seems to require that a necessary number only should be set apart for the service of the altar, and the other purposes relating to it. In England, Scotland, and Ireland, there are not above twenty thousand clergy. In Holland, which contains two millions of inhabitants, there are not a thousand; and again these persons thus consecrated to the service of the Church, being almost all of them married, help to furnish their country with subjects, whom they bring up in a virtuous and prudent manner.

In the year 1700 the number of clergy in France, both secular and regular, was reckoned at two hundred and fifty thousand, which far exceeds the ordinary number of soldiers. The clergy in the ecclesiastical state made a body of thirty-two thousand,

and the monks and young women confined in convents, amounted to nearly eight thousand. Of all the Catholic states, this is the one in which the number of secular clergy exceeds the most those of the monks; but it is a certain means of being always weak, to maintain forty thousand churchmen, and only ten thousand soldiers.

There are more convents in France than in all Italy together. The number of both sexes shut up in convents in this kingdom, at the beginning of the present century amounted to more than ninety thousand. In Spain there are not above fifty thousand, if we rely upon the account taken by Gonzalez Davila, in the year 1623: but then this country is not more than half so populous as France; and after the expulsion of the Jews and Moors, and the transplanting of so many Spanish families into America, it must be admitted that the number of convents in Spain form a kind of mortality, which insensibly destroys the nation.

In Portugal there are somewhat more than ten thousand religious of both sexes. This country is nearly of the same extent as the ecclesiastical state, and yet the number of those who inhabit the cloisters there are in a greater proportion.

It has been proposed in almost every kingdom to restore to the state a part of the members which it is deprived of by monasteries. But those who have the management of the administration are seldom affected by a distant prospect of utility, however

obvious, especially when this future advantage is balanced by a present difficulty.

The religious orders are likewise all of them against such an alteration. Every superior who finds himself at the head of a little state is desirous of increasing the number of his subjects; and frequently a monk, though heartily tired of the confinement of a cloister, has still the imaginary good of his order at heart, in preference to the real good of his country.

CHAPTER CXIX.

THE INQUISITION.

As a militia of five hundred thousand monks fighting for the Word, under the standard of Rome, could not prevent one-half of Europe from throwing off the yoke of that see, neither was the Inquisition of any other service than to make the pope lose the seven United Provinces, and to sentence a number of unhappy wretches to the flames to no purpose.

We may remember that this tribunal, which pretends to a right of judging the thoughts of men, was first erected by Pope Innocent III., in the year 1200, during the war against the Albigenses; and that without paying the least regard to the bishops, who are the only proper judges in trials of doctrine, it was intrusted to the management of a few Dominicans and Cordeliers.

These first inquisitors had the power of summon-

ing all heretics before them, or pronouncing the sentence of excommunication, of granting indulgences to every prince who should use his endeavors to destroy such as they condemned, of receiving penitents again into the Church, and levying such taxes on them as they pleased, and of requiring from them a certain sum of money, as a pledge for the sincerity of their repentance.

By the caprice of events, which throws so many contradictions into human politics, it happened that the most violent enemy the popes ever had proved the most strenuous protector of this tribunal.

Emperor Frederick II., whom the pope had sometimes accused of being a Mahometan, and at others of atheism, thought to clear himself of this reproach, by taking the Inquisition under his protection; and in 1244 published four edicts at Pavia, by which he commanded the secular judges to deliver up to the flames all such as should be condemned by the office of Inquisition, as obstinate heretics; and imprison for life those whom it should declare penitent.

But this stroke of policy in Frederick did not secure him from persecution; and the popes have since made use of the very arms he furnished them with to attack the rights of the empire.

In 1225 Pope Alexander III. established the Inquisition in France, during the reign of St. Louis. The father guardian of the Franciscan order at Paris, and the provincial of the Dominicans were appointed

chief inquisitors. Agreeable to Alexander's bull, they were to consult the bishops before they passed sentence; but they showed no regard to this injunction. So extraordinary a juridical power given to men who had made a vow of retiring from the world, filled both clergy and laity with indignation. A Franciscan inquisitor assisted at the trial of the Knights Templars; but the general dislike which people of all ranks showed to these monks, soon reduced their power to an empty name.

In Italy the popes had more credit, because though their authority was despised in Rome, and they themselves were for a long time banished from there, they were still at the head of the Guelph faction against that of the Ghibellines; and they made use of the Inquisition against the partisans of the empire: for in 1302, Pope John XXII. caused Matthew Visconti, lord of Milan, to be arraigned before the monks of the Inquisition, for no other crime than his attachment to Emperor Louis of Bavaria. The fidelity of a vassal to his lord paramount was declared heresy. The houses of Este and Malatesta were proceeded against in the same manner, and for the same cause; and if punishment did not follow sentence, it was only because the pope found it easier to get inquisitors than to raise armies.

As this tribunal grew more powerful, the bishops were more strenuous in reclaiming those rights which properly belonged to them, and which this office had deprived them of. The popes sided with

the inquisitors, who exercised their authority in all its latitude in almost all the states of Italy, while the bishops were no other than their assistants.

Toward the end of the thirteenth century — in 1289 — the Inquisition was received in Venice; but as in all other places it is dependent only on the pope, in Venice it was subject to the senate, who had the wise precaution to take from the inquisitors the fines and confiscations. It thought to moderate their zeal by taking from them the temptation of enriching themselves by their sentences; but as the ambition of exercising the power of office is frequently as prevalent a passion in the human mind as avarice itself, the inquisitors went such lengths that the senate, later on — in the sixteenth century — ordered, that for the future, the Inquisition should never proceed to trial without three senators being present. By this and several other political regulations, the authority of this tribunal was reduced to nothing in Venice, purely by being eluded.

A kingdom where it should seem that the Inquisition would have established itself with most ease and with the greatest power, was the very one where it could never gain admittance; I mean the kingdom of Naples. The sovereigns of this state, and those of Sicily, looked upon themselves as entitled, by virtue of the concessions made to them by the popes, to execute ecclesiastical jurisdiction within their own territories; and there being always a dispute

between the king and the pope about the nomination of the inquisitors, there were none appointed; and for this one time the people were benefited by the quarrels of their masters. There were, however, fewer heretics in Naples and Sicily than elsewhere. This peaceful state of the Church in those kingdoms may serve to show that the Inquisition was not so much the bulwark of the true faith, as a scourge invented for the torment of mankind.

It was admitted into Sicily, after having been received in Spain by Ferdinand and Isabella, in the year 1478; but in this island, still more than in Castile, it was a prerogative appertaining to the crown, rather than a Romish tribunal; for in Sicily the king is pope.

It had been a long time settled in Aragon; but there, as well as in France, its power was very weak and circumscribed; and it remained as it were in oblivion without functions and without order.

It was not till after the conquest of Granada that this tribunal displayed its power in Spain, and exercised its functions with an authority and rigor that had never been practised by any of the other courts of justice. The Spaniards at that time must certainly have had something more austere and merciless in their disposition than any other people; witness the studied cruelties they practised upon the inhabitants of the new world they had discovered, and the excessive barbarities they committed in the exercise of a jurisdiction which the Italians, who

were the first projectors, carried on with much greater lenity. The popes erected this tribunal with a political view, and the Spanish inquisitors added cruelty to it.

Mahomet II., after having subdued Constantinople and Greece, suffered the vanquished to follow their religion in peace; his successors did the same: and the Arabians, while they were masters of Spain, had never compelled the Christian inhabitants to embrace the Mahometan religion. But after the taking of Granada, Cardinal Ximenes was resolved that all the Moors should become Christians, either through a motive of zeal, or from the ambition of adding a new set of subjects to the primacy. This attempt was a direct violation of the treaty by which the Moors had surrendered themselves, and therefore it required time to bring it to bear. But Ximenes wanted to convert the Moors in as short a time as his sovereign had taken Granada. Accordingly they were preached to, they were persecuted, they revolted, were subdued, and at length, in 1499, obliged to receive baptism; and Ximenes gave to fifty thousand of them the mark of a religion, in which not one of them believed.

The Jews, who were included in the treaty made with the king of Granada, experienced no greater indulgence than the Moors had done. There were great numbers of them then in Spain, who were there as they are everywhere, the brokers in trade; a profession which is so far from producing a spirit

of sedition, that it can subsist only among those of a pacific disposition. There are more than twenty-eight thousand Jews, now licenced by the pope in Italy, and nearly two hundred and eight synagogues in the kingdom of Poland. The city of Amsterdam contains only about fifteen thousand; though every-one must allow that it can carry on its trade without them. In short, the Jews were not more dangerous in Spain; and the taxes which might have been levied on them would have furnished the government with certain resources. It is therefore very difficult to reconcile the persecution raised against them with the rules of sound policy.

The Inquisition proceeded against them as well as the Moors. We have already remarked that a great number of Jewish and Mahometan families chose rather to quit Spain than be subject to the severity of this tribunal, by which Ferdinand and Isabella lost many valuable subjects; since those of their sect who preferred flight to rebellion were certainly the least to be feared. Those who remained behind pretended to become Christians; but the chief inquisitor, Torquemada, represented these feigned proselytes to Queen Isabella as persons whose estates ought to be confiscated, and their lives taken away.

This Torquemada, who was a Dominican friar, and had been lately made a cardinal, first gave the Spanish Inquisition that juridical form, so repugnant to all the laws of humanity, which it has ever since retained. In the space of fourteen years he tried

nearly eighty thousand persons, and burned six thousand, with all the parade and ceremony of the most august festival. What we read concerning the nations who sacrificed human victims to their deity, is nothing in comparison with these executions, which were accompanied with all the ceremonies of religion. The Spaniards were not at first sufficiently struck with horror at these cruelties, because only their ancient enemies, the Jews, were the sufferers; but in a short time they themselves proved the victims: for when Lutheranism began to make a noise, the few natives who were suspected of favoring it were sacrificed without mercy.

The very form of these trials affords an infallible means of destroying whomsoever the judges pleased. The accused is never confronted with his accuser; and the greatest encouragement is given to everyone who will inform against another. A public criminal branded by the law, a child, or a prostitute is esteemed a serious accuser. The son may be a witness against his father, and a wife against her husband. In short, the accused person is obliged to give testimony against himself, and to guess and acknowledge the crime imputed to him, of which he is frequently ignorant.

So unheard-of a proceeding made all Spain tremble. A general distrust took possession of all minds; there was no longer any friendship nor society. One brother stood in fear of another, and the father suspected his son. Taciturnity became the character of

a people who were born with all the vivacity which a warm and fruitful climate could inspire. Those of the common people who had most cunning, strove to be bailiffs to the Inquisition, under the title of familiars, choosing rather to be its attendants than stand in danger of its censures.

We may likewise attribute, as an effect of this dreadful tribunal, that profound ignorance of sound philosophy in which most of the Spaniards are still immersed, while the people of Germany, England, France, and even Italy itself, have brought to light so many important truths, and enlarged the sphere of our knowledge. Human nature is never so debased as when ignorance is armed with power.

But these effects of the Inquisition, melancholy as they are, are but trifling in comparison with those public sacrifices, known by the name of *auto-da-fé*, or acts of faith, and the horrors by which they are preceded.

A priest clad in his surplice, and a monk who has made a vow of meekness and humility, attend in vast subterraneous dungeons to see their fellow-creatures put to the most excruciating tortures. After this a stage is erected in a public place, whither all the condemned are led to the stake, attended by a train of monks and friars, who sing psalms, perform a mass, and murder their fellow-creatures. An inhabitant of Asia, who should chance to arrive at Madrid the day of such an execution, would not be able to determine whether it was a rejoicing, a religious cer-

emony, a sacrifice, or a butchery; and it is indeed all these together. The kings, whose presence alone is in other nations sufficient to confer pardon on a criminal, assist bareheaded at this spectacle, on a seat somewhat lower than that of the inquisitors, and behold their subjects expiring in the flames. Montezuma has been reproached with sacrificing the captives taken in war to his gods; but what would you have said had he been spectator of an *auto-da-fé?*

These executions are now less frequent than heretofore. But as reason cannot without great difficulty penetrate where fanaticism is established, it has not yet been able to suppress them entirely.

The Inquisition was not yet introduced into Portugal till 1557, when that country was no longer under Spanish dominion. At first it met with all the resistance which its very name was sufficient to produce; but at length it was established with the same power as at Madrid. The chief inquisitor is nominated by the king, and confirmed by the pope. The private tribunals of this office, which has the title of Holy given it, are subject in Spain and Portugal to the tribunal of the capital. The Inquisition observed the same severity in both these states, and the same assiduity in signalizing their power.

In Spain, after the death of Charles V., it had the boldness to arraign and try Constantine Pontius, that emperor's confessor, who ended his days in the dungeon. After his death he was burned in effigy at an *auto-da-fe.*

John de Braganza having delivered his country, Portugal, from the Spanish yoke, was desirous likewise of freeing it from the Inquisition: but all he could do was to deprive the inquisitors of their right to confiscations. In return, they declared him excommunicated after his death; and his queen was obliged to solicit absolution for his dead body, which was equally ridiculous and absurd: for this absolution was in fact declaring him to have been culpable.

When the Spaniards settled in America, they carried the Inquisition over with them; and the Portuguese introduced it into the East Indies, immediately after it was established by authority in Lisbon.

Everyone has heard of the Inquisition at Goa. As in other countries it is a restraint on the rights of nature, in Goa it is directly contrary to policy; for the Portuguese are settled in the Indies only for the sake of trade. Now commerce and the Inquisition are two things which appear incompatible. Had it been admitted in London or Amsterdam, those cities would neither have been so well peopled nor so opulent. Accordingly, when Philip II. attempted to introduce it into the provinces of the Low Countries, the stop which was put to trade proved one of the principal causes of the revolution. France and Germany have fortunately been preserved from this scourge. These countries have experienced all the horrors of war, on account of religion; at length these wars are at an end, but the Inquisition once established is of eternal duration.

It is not to be wondered at, that a tribunal which is so universally detested, should be accused of excesses of cruelty and insolence, which it never committed. We read in a number of books, that Constantine Pontius, confessor of Charles V., was accused before the holy office of having dictated the emperor's will, in which there did not appear to be a sufficient number of pious legacies; and that the confessor and the will were both of them condemned to be burned; and at length, that Philip II. could with great difficulty prevent the sentence from being executed upon the will. This whole story is manifestly false. Constantine Pontius had not been Charles's confessor for a long time before he was imprisoned, and that monarch's will was held in great esteem by Philip, who was a prince of too great abilities and power to suffer such a disgrace to be thrown upon the beginning of his reign and his father's character.

We also find in several authors who have written against the Inquisition, that Philip III., king of Spain, being present at an *auto-da-fé*, and seeing several people burned for Jews, Mahometans, and heretics, or suspected of being such, cried out: "These people are very unhappy, to suffer death because they could not change their opinions." It is very probable that a king might think in this manner, and that some such words might have escaped him. It is only very cruel that he would not save those whose fate he lamented. But it is further.

added that the chief inquisitors, remembering these words, imputed them as a crime to the king, and had the abominable impudence to demand reparation for them, which the king was mean enough to agree to; and that this reparation made to the honor of the holy office consisted in having blood drawn from some part of his body, which the chief inquisitor ordered to be burned by the hands of the executioner. Philip III., though a prince of narrow understanding, was not so egregiously weak as to submit to such treatment; nor is a story of this nature to be believed concerning any prince: it is found only in books of no authority, in a picture of the popes, and certain false memoirs printed in Holland, under a number of fictitious names. Besides, it shows great want of capacity, to asperse the Inquisition without reason, and to have recourse to falsehoods to render it detestable.

This tribunal, which was instituted for the extirpation of heretics, is precisely the thing which has the most separated the Protestants from the Church of Rome. They cannot look upon it without horror, and would rather suffer death than consent to receive it; and the sulphurous shirts of the holy office were always with them the standard of general opposition.

Having thus gone through everything relative to religion, I shall reserve for succeeding times the history of those misfortunes, of which it has been the cause either in reality or pretence in France and

Germany, and now proceed to those amazing discoveries, which at this time brought glory and wealth to Portugal and Spain, which took in the whole universe, and made Philip II. the most powerful monarch of Europe.

CHAPTER CXX.

THE DISCOVERIES OF THE PORTUGUESE.

HITHERTO we have seen only men whose ambition disputed the possession, or disturbed the peace, of the known world. An ambition, which seemed at first more advantageous to mankind, but which in the end proved equally fatal, now excited human industry to go in search of new lands and new seas.

It is well known that the pointing of the needle to the north, which remained so long hidden from the most learned people, was discovered in the times of ignorance, toward the end of the thirteenth century. Soon afterward Flavio Goia, of Amalfi, in the kingdom of Naples, invented the compass, and distinguished the touched point by a fleur-de-lis; which was one of the armorial bearings of the kings of Naples, as being descended from the house of France.

This discovery remained a long time without being put in use; and the verses mentioned by Fauchet, to prove that the compass was made use of in 1300, were probably written in the fourteenth century.

The Canary Islands had already been discovered,

without the help of the compass, about the end of the fourteenth century. These islands, which in Ptolemy's and Pliny's time were called the Fortunate Islands — *Insulæ Fortunatæ* — were well known to the Romans, after they became masters of Africa Tingitana, from which they were not far distant. But the fall of the Roman Empire having destroyed all communication between the western nations, who now became strangers to one another, these islands were lost to us. They were discovered again in the year 1300 by some Biscayans; Louis de la Cerda, prince of Spain, son of that Louis who lost the crown, finding that he could not be king of Spain, demanded of Pope Clement V., in 1306, the title of king of these islands; and, as the popes were always fond of bestowing real or imaginary kingdoms, Clement crowned him king of these islands, in Avignon; la Cerda, however, chose to continue in France, which was then the place of his asylum, rather than to make a voyage to the Fortunate Islands.

The first time we find the use of the compass mentioned with any certainty, is by the English under Edward III. The little knowledge that remained among mankind was confined to the cloisters. An Oxonian monk, named Linna, who was a very skilful astronomer for the times he lived in, penetrated as far as Iceland, and drew some charts of the north seas, which were afterward made use of in the reign of Henry VI.

But the more noble and useful discoveries were not made till the beginning of the fifteenth century. These were begun by Prince Henry of Portugal, son of John I., who thereby rendered his name more glorious than that of all his contemporaries. This prince was a philosopher, and he employed his philosophy in doing good to the world.

Five degrees on this side of our tropic lies a promontory, which stretches out into the Atlantic Ocean, and which, till that time, had been the *ne plus ultra* of navigation: it was called Cape Non; a word which signified that it was not to be passed.

Prince Henry found some pilots bold enough to double this cape, and to sail as far as Cape Boyador, which is only two degrees distant from the tropic; but this new promontory, which stretched for the length of one hundred and twenty miles into the ocean, and was surrounded on all sides by rocks and banks of sand, and in the midst of a very boisterous sea, damped the courage of the pilots. The prince, whom nothing discouraged, sent others in their stead; but these could not make their passage, and returned by the main ocean. On their way they discovered the island of Madeira, in 1419, which was certainly known to the Carthaginians, and which some exaggerated accounts had made to pass for an immense island; nay, by a still greater exaggeration, some moderns have taken it for the continent of America itself. Its discoverers gave it the name of Madeira, from its being covered with wood;

"madeira" in the Portuguese language signifying wood, hence came our French word *madrier*.

Prince Henry ordered some vines of Greece to be planted there, and sugar canes, which he procured from Sicily and Cyprus, whither they had been brought by the Arabians from the Indies; and from these sugar canes came those which were afterward transplanted into the American islands, which at present furnish all Europe with that commodity.

Henry preserved Madeira; but he was obliged to give up the Canary Islands, of which he had taken possession, to the Spaniards, who prosecuted the claim of Louis de la Cerda and Pope Clement's bull.

Cape Boyador had struck such dread into the minds of all the pilots, that for over thirteen years not one of them dared to attempt to pass it. At length, in 1446, Prince Henry, by his resolution, inspired a few of them with fresh courage. They passed the tropic, and sailed nearly four hundred leagues beyond it, as far as Cape Verde. The discovery of Cape Verde and the Azores, in 1460, is entirely owing to his care and diligence. If it is true, as is asserted, that they saw upon one of the rocks of the Azores, a statue, representing a man on horseback, holding the horse's mane with his left hand, and pointing with his right to the west, we may reasonably suppose that this monument belonged to the ancient Carthaginians; and the inscription found on it, in unintelligible characters, seems a corroborating proof.

Almost all that part of the coast of Africa which had been discovered was under the dominion of the emperors of Morocco, who had extended their sovereignty and religion from the Straits of Gibraltar to the Senegal river, across the deserts; but the country was very thinly peopled, and the inhabitants were hardly a degree removed from brutes. When the adventurers had published their discoveries beyond Senegal, they were surprised to find the men to the southward of that river jet black, while those to the northward were ash-colored. These discoveries were hitherto more curious than useful. It was necessary to people these islands, and the trade on the western coast of Africa produced no great advantages. At length some gold was discovered on the coast of Guinea, but in very small quantities; hence came the name of guineas, which the English afterward gave to the coin which they struck from the gold they found in this country.

The Portuguese, to whom belongs the sole honor of enlarging the limits of the earth for the rest of mankind, passed the equator, and discovered the kingdom of Congo: they now beheld a new heaven, and new stars.

The Europeans now saw, for the first time, the southern pole, and the four stars which are the nearest to it. It is something very extraordinary that the famous Dante should have spoken of these very stars above one hundred years before this discovery. "I turned myself to the right," says he, in the first

canto of his "Purgatory," "and looked toward the other pole; there I beheld four stars, which have never been known to men, but in the first infancy of the world." This prediction seems much more positive than that which we find in the "*Medea*" of Seneca, the tragedian, who says: "A day shall come, when the ocean shall no longer separate nations, when a new Tiphys shall discover a new world, and Thulé cease to be the boundary of the earth."

This vague idea of Seneca is no other than a probable hope, founded on the progress which might be made in navigation; and the pretended prophecy of Dante has in fact no relation to the discoveries of the Spaniards and Portuguese. The clearer this prophecy appears, the less reason is there to believe it true. It is by mere chance that the south pole and its four stars happen to be spoken of by Dante. He expresses himself only in a figurative sense, and his whole poem is a continued allegory; the pole with him means the terrestial paradise; the four stars, known only to the first race of men, are the four cardinal virtues, which disappeared with the times of primitive innocence. If we were, in like manner, to search into most of the predictions with which so many books abound, we should find that nothing was ever meant to be foretold by them; and that the knowledge of futurity belongs alone to God, and those whom he had been pleased to inspire.

It was not known before, whether the needle would point to the Antarctic pole in drawing near to

that pole. It was now found to point constantly to the north. They continued sailing, till, in 1486, they came to the southernmost point of Africa, and here the Cape of Tempests struck the navigators with as much dread as that of Boyador had done; but as the king entertained a hope of finding a way, on the other side of this cape, by which he might make the tour of Africa, and carry a trade as far as the Indies, he changed its name to that of Cape de Bona Esperanza, or the Cape of Good Hope; a name which afterward verified his conjectures. Soon afterward King Emanuel, who inherited the noble emulation of his ancestors, in spite of the remonstrances of his whole kingdom, sent thither a small fleet of four ships, under the command of Vasco da Gama, who rendered his name immortal by this expedition.

Vasco doubled this cape in 1457, and sailing through unknown seas, toward the equator, he had not yet passed the Tropic of Capricorn, when he met with a civilized nation at Sofala, who spoke the Arabian tongue. From the latitude of the Canary Islands, till he came to Sofala, men, animals, and plants had all appeared to be of a new species; and his surprise was extreme, to find in this country a people who exactly resembled those of the known continent. The Mahometan religion had made its way hither. Thus the Mussulmans, who had travelled into Africa from the east, and the Christians in sailing up by the west, met together at the extremity of the globe.

Having at length, found Mahometan pilots in fourteen degrees of south latitude, he landed in the kingdom of Calicut, in India, in 1498, after having discovered over fifteen hundred leagues of coast.

This voyage of da Gama made a total change in the trade of the old world. Alexander, whom certain orators have represented only as a destroyer, and who nevertheless founded more cities than he subverted, and certainly merited the title of Great, notwithstanding his vices, had destined the city of Alexandria for the centre of commerce, and the point of union of all nations; and it actually was so under the Ptolemys, the Romans, and the Arabians. It was the general staple of Egypt, Europe, and the Indies. In the fifteenth century, Venice brought almost all the commodities of the east and south from Alexandria; and enriched herself, at the expense of the rest of Europe, by her own industry, and the ignorance of other Christians; and but for da Gama's voyage this republic would soon have become the preponderating power of Europe; but the passage around the Cape of Good Hope turned aside the source of her riches.

Potentates had hitherto gone to war to strip each other of their territories; they now quarrelled about settling factories. In the year 1500, no one could have pepper from Calicut, without venturing his life for it.

Alphonso d'Albuquerque, and a small number of other famous Portuguese generals, made war succes-

sively upon the kings of Calicut, Ormuz, and Siam, and defied the Sultan of Egypt's whole fleet. The Venetians, who were as anxious as the Egyptians to check the progress of the Portuguese, had made a proposal to this sultan, of cutting through the isthmus of Suez, at their own expense, and digging a canal to join the river Nile to the Red Sea. Had this project succeeded, they would have secured the trade of India in their own hands; but this noble design was baffled by a number of difficulties and delays, and Albuquerque, between 1510 and 1514, took Goa, a city on this side of the Ganges; Malacca, in the Golden Chersonesus; Aden, at the entrance of the Red Sea, on the coast of Arabia Felix; and, last of all, made himself master of Ormuz in the Persian Gulf.

The Portuguese, soon after this, formed settlements all along the coast of the island of Ceylon, which produces the finest cinnamon and richest rubies of the east. They had factories at Bengal, they traded to Siam, founded the city of Macao, on the frontiers of China, and their ships frequently sailed to the eastern parts of Ethiopia, and the coasts of the Red Sea. The Molucca Islands, the only spot in the world where nature produces cloves, were discovered and conquered by them. These new settlements were formed partly by treaties, and partly by war: they were obliged sometimes to make use of force to open a new trade in this part of the world.

Thus, in less than fifty years, the Portuguese had explored more than five thousand leagues of coast; and became the masters of all the trade carried or in the Ethiopic and Atlantic oceans. In 1540, they had several settlements, from the Molucca Islands to the Persian Gulf. They furnished Europe with everything that nature produced useful, curious, or pleasing, and at a much cheaper rate than the Venetians could. Voyages from the Tagus to the Ganges became common, and the kingdoms of Siam and Portugal were allies.

CHAPTER CXXI.

JAPAN.

The Portuguese, after having raised themselves to be rich merchants and kings, on the coast of India, and in the Ganges peninsula, made a visit, in the year 1538, to the island of Japan.

Of all the countries in India, none better deserves the attention of a philosopher than Japan. We should have been acquainted with these islands as early as the thirteenth century, from the relation of the famous Marco Polo, a Venetian, who, having travelled overland to China, and served for a considerable time under one of the sons of Genghis Khan, first conceived a notion of those islands, which we call Japan, and which by him were named Zipangri. But Polo's contemporaries, though they would adopt the most absurd fables, would not give credit to the

truths which he related. His manuscript lay for a long time neglected, and almost unknown, till at length it fell into the hands of Christopher Columbus, who, upon reading it, was greatly confirmed in his hopes of discovering a new world joining together the east and the west. Columbus was only mistaken in supposing that Japan joined to the hemisphere which he had lately discovered.

This kingdom bounds our continent on the east. I cannot tell why the Japanese have been called our antipodes in morals; there can be no such antipodes among people who improve their reason. The established religion at Japan admits of rewards and punishments after death. Their chief commandments, which they call divine, are exactly the same as ours: lying, incontinence, theft, and murder are equally prohibited, and, with them, it is the law of nature reduced to positive precepts. To this they add another precept, which is that of temperance, by which the use of strong liquors of all kinds is forbidden; and they extend the prohibition of murder even to the brute creation. Saka, from whom they received this law, lived about a thousand years before our common era. These people then differ from us in morality, only by the precept which relates to the preservation of beasts. They have a number of fabulous accounts; but in this they resemble all other nations, and us among the rest, who had nothing but the grossest fictions before Christianity Their customs, likewise, are different from ours; so are

those of all the eastern nations, from the straits of the Hellespont to the extremity of Korea.

As the foundation of morality is the same in all nations, so there are customs in civil life which are the same throughout the world. The Japanese, for instance, visit each other on the first day of the new year, and make reciprocal presents, as the Europeans do; and relatives and friends meet together on particular festivals.

The most remarkable thing is, that their government has continued for over two thousand four hundred years exactly the same in form as that of the Mahometan caliph and of modern Rome. The chiefs of religion among the Japanese have been the chiefs of the kingdom much longer than in any other nation; the succession of the pontiff kings may be traced with certainty for more than six hundred and sixty years before our era. But the government coming little by little to be divided among the laity, they at length made themselves masters of the whole, toward the end of the sixteenth century, but without daring to destroy the race, or name of the pontiffs, whose power they had usurped. The ecclesiastical emperor, whom they call Dairi, is still revered by them like an idol, and the general of the crown, who is in fact the real emperor, treats the Dairi, whom he keeps in honorable confinement, with the utmost respect: and the Taicosamas have done no more in Japan than the Turks have done at Bagdad, and the German emperors endeavored to do at Rome.

Human nature, which is everywhere essentially the same, has placed many other resemblances between these people and us. They have the same superstitious notions of witchcraft as prevailed so long in Europe. They have their pilgrimages, and their trials by fire, which formerly made a part of our jurisprudence. Lastly, they place their illustrious men among the gods, as did the Greeks and Romans. Their pontiffs, like those of Rome — if I may be allowed the comparison — have the sole right of canonization, and of dedicating temples to those whom they judge deserving of them. The priests are in everything distinguished from the laity, and a reciprocal contempt prevails between the two orders. They have for a long time had monks, recluses, and even regular orders among them, not unlike our military ones; for there was an ancient society of anchorets in Japan, who made a vow of fighting for their religion.

But, notwithstanding an establishment of this kind, which seems a kind of prelude to civil wars, such as were occasioned in Europe, by the Teutonic Order of Prussia, liberty of conscience is universally allowed in this country, as well as throughout all the east. Japan, though under the government of a pontiff king, was divided into several sects; but all these sects were united in the same principles of morality. Those who believed the metempsychosis, and those who denied it, equally abstained from eating the flesh of those animals which are of use to man. The

whole nation lived upon rice, pulse, fish, and fruits, and with them temperance seemed rather a virtue than a superstition.

The doctrine of Confucius has made great progress in this empire. As it confines itself wholly to simple morality, it has captivated the minds of all who are not attached to the bonzes, which has always been the widest part of the nation. It is thought that this doctrine has contributed not a little to overthrow the Dairi's power. The emperor who reigned in 1700 was professedly of this religion.

They seem to have made a worse use of this doctrine in Japan than in China. The Japanese philosophers regard suicide as a virtuous action, when it does not injure society. The violent and haughty disposition of these islanders frequently leads them to put it in practice, and this crime is much more common in Japan than even in England.

Liberty of conscience, as remarks that authentic and learned traveller, Kämpfer, has always been allowed in Japan, as well as throughout all of Asia. A number of different religions were suffered to settle in Japan; and God thus permitted a way to be opened for the Gospel in these vast regions. Everyone knows the amazing progress which it made in almost half of this great empire at the end of the sixteenth century. The famous embassy of three Christian princes of Japan to Pope Gregory XIII. is perhaps the most flattering homage which the see of Rome ever received. This immense

country where, at present, everyone who enters must abjure Christianity, and where the Dutch are admitted only on condition of performing no act of religion, was once on the eve of becoming a Christian, and perhaps a Portuguese, kingdom. Our priests then received more honors there than even at home, and, at present, a price is set upon their heads, and that a very considerable one too, being no less than twelve thousand livres. The indiscretion of a Portuguese priest, who would not give place to one of the king's chief officers, was the first occasion of this great revolution. Another was the obstinacy of certain Jesuits, who stood up too strictly for their rights, and refused to restore a house, which a Japanese noble had given them, and which his son afterward claimed again. The third and last, was the apprehension of the people themselves, of being subjected by the Christians, and this caused a civil war. We shall hereafter see how the Christian religion, which first introduced itself into this country by peaceable missions, ended by war.

At present let us confine ourselves to what Japan was at that time; to the antiquity which this nation boasts in common with the Chinese; and to that succession of pontiff kings, which precedes our era by above six centuries; and, in particular, let us not omit to remark that these are the only people of Asia who have never been conquered. The Japanese have been compared to the English for that insular haughtiness which is common to both nations, and

the disposition to suicide, which is thought so frequent in these two extremities of our hemisphere. But Japan has never been subdued, whereas Great Britain has been conquered more than once. The Japanese do not appear to be a mixture of many different people, as the English, and all our northern nations. They seem rather to be aborigines. Their laws, worship, manners, and language have no resemblance to those of the Chinese; and China itself seems to have had an original existence of its own, and not to have received anything from other nations, till very lately. You are struck with the great antiquity of the Asiatic nations, none of whom, the Tartars excepted, ever spread themselves to any great distance from their own borders, and at the same time you see that a nation, very limited in strength, extent and numbers, and hardly till this time mentioned in the history of the world, sent forth a few adventurers from the port of Lisbon, who discovered these immense countries, and settled themselves there in all the pomp of power.

No trade was ever so advantageous to the Portuguese as that of Japan. Dutch writers tell us that they brought from there every year three hundred tons of gold; now everyone knows that a hundred thousand florins make what the Dutch call a ton. This is greatly exaggerating matters, but it is evident by the extreme care which these industrious and indefatigable republicans have taken to exclude all nations but their own from trading with Japan that

it must, especially in the beginning, have been immensely advantageous. They bought the best tea in Asia there, the finest earthenware, and ambergris; and, lastly, gold and silver, the principal object of all these undertakings.

This country, like China, possesses almost all those things which we have; and almost all that we want. It is as well peopled as China, in proportion to its size; and the natives are more fierce and warlike. These people were formerly much superior to ours in all the liberal and mechanical arts. But how nobly have we redeemed our lost time! The countries where a Bramantes and a Michelangelo have built the cathedral of Rome; where a Raphael has painted; where a Newton has calculated infinites; and where "*Cinna*" and "*Athalie*" have been written, are now the first countries on earth. Other nations are no better than barbarians, or children, in the fine arts, notwithstanding their boasted antiquity, and all that nature has done for them.

I shall not, in this place, make any mention of the kingdom of Siam, which was not known till the time of Louis XIV., who received an embassy from there, and sent over troops and missionaries, who proved equally useless; nor shall I detain you with an account of the people of Tonquin, Laos, and Cochin-China, as they have been but little visited, and not at all till long after the expeditions of the Portuguese, and as our trade has never been able to make any great progress in these countries.

The powers of Europe, and the traders who enrich them, had no other view in all these discoveries than to find out new treasures. Philosophers, however, have by this means discovered a new world in morality and physics. An easy passage being opened from all the ports of Europe to the farther parts of the Indies, gave us an opportunity of indulging our curiosities with the ocular demonstration of whatever we were ignorant of, or concerning which we had but an imperfect knowledge from the false relations of ancient writers. What subjects were offered to the reflecting mind in beholding, on the farther shores of the Congo, inhabited by an innumerable multitude of blacks, the vast coast of Kaffraria, where the inhabitants are all of an olive color, and deprive themselves of one testicle in honor of the deity, while the Ethiopians, and many other people of Africa, content themselves with offering only a part of their foreskins! Then, in returning to Sofala, Quiloa, Mombasa, and Melind, to meet with blacks of a still different species from those of Nigritia, as well as whites, and others of a copper color, all of whom spring from the same common parent; and all these countries abounding in animals and vegetables wholly unknown to our climates!

In the middle parts of Africa there is a race, though very few in number, of small men who are as white as snow, with faces like those of the negroes, and round eyes, exactly resembling those of a partridge. Two of these have been seen in France, and

some of them are yet to be met with in the eastern parts of Asia.

The vast peninsula of the Indus, which runs from the mouths of the Nile and the Ganges to the middle of the Maldive Islands, is inhabited by twenty different nations, whose manners and religion have not the least resemblance to one another. The natives of the country are of a deep copper color. Dampier met with men in the isle of Timor whose skins are the color of brass; so greatly does nature vary in her productions.

In the Indus peninsula on this side of the Ganges dwell a great number of Banians, who are descended from the ancient Brahmins. These people are strongly attached to the ancient doctrine of the metempsychosis, and the two principles which prevail in all the provinces of India, and will not eat anything that has the breath of life; they resemble the Jews in obstinately refusing to incorporate with any other nation; they boast the same antiquity, and, like them, devote themselves entirely to commerce.

This country in particular has preserved that custom from time immemorial by which women are encouraged to burn themselves with the dead bodies of their husbands, in hope of being born anew.

About Surat, Cambay, and on the borders of Persia, we find the Guebers, remains of the ancient Persians, who follow the religion of Zoroaster, and like the Banians and Hebrews, will not intermix with other nations. There are several ancient Jewish

families in India; they are thought to have been settled there ever since their first dispersion. On the coasts of Malabar was found a colony of Nestorian Christians, falsely called the Christians of St. Thomas, who did not know there was a Church of Rome; these were formerly governed by a patriarch of Syria, and still acknowledge this phantom of a patriarch, who resided, or rather hid himself, in Mosul, which they pretend to be the ancient Nineveh. This weak Syriac church was, in a manner, buried beneath its own ruins by the Mahometan power, as well as were the other churches of Antioch, Jerusalem, and Alexandria. The Portuguese brought the Roman Catholic religion with them into these countries, and founded an archbishopric in Goa, which now became a metropolitan see, as well as a capital city. They endeavored to reduce the Malabar Christians to obedience to the holy see, but without success. What had been effected with so much ease among the savages of America could never, with the utmost endeavors, be brought to bear with those churches which had once separated themselves from the Romish communion.

In going from Ormuz to Arabia they met with disciples of St. John, who had never heard of the Gospel, and are those we call Sabeans.

After a passage was opened through the eastern seas of India to China and Japan, and the inner parts of those countries came to be inhabited by European settlers, the customs, manners, and relig-

ion of the Chinese, Japanese, and Siamese were better known to us than those of the nations bordering upon our own had been during the barbarous ages.

Nothing is more worthy the attention of a philosopher than the apparent difference between the eastern customs and ours, which is as great as between our languages. The best governed among those nations differ from us in the nature of their polity; their arts are not like ours; their food, clothes, houses, gardens, laws, worship, and rules of decorum are all different. What can be more opposite to our customs than the manner in which the Brahmins carry on their traffic in Hindostan? The largest trades are made without speaking or writing, and only by means of signs. Indeed, how is it possible that the eastern customs should not in almost every respect differ from ours? Nature herself is not the same in their climates as she is in Europe. In the southern parts of India young people of both sexes are marriageable at seven or eight years of age, and it is a common thing to contract marriage at those years. These children become parents, and enjoy the reason they have received from nature at a time when ours has scarcely begun to unfold itself.

All these people resemble us in nothing but the passions and the universal law of reason which counteracts those passions, and impresses upon all hearts this necessary precept, "Do not that to others which thou wouldst not have them do to thee."

These two characters are stamped by nature on all the different species of the human race, and are two links by which she connects them all. Everything else is purely the effect of climate and custom. Thus the city of Pegu is guarded by crocodiles, which swim around it in a vast ditch filled with water; and at Java the women mount guard at the king's palace.

In Siam the chief glory of the kingdom consists in possessing a white elephant. There is no corn in Malabar; and bread and wine are unknown to the inhabitants of all the isles. In one of the Philippine Islands a tree is found, whose fruit perfectly resembles the finest bread. In the Mariana Islands they were not acquainted with the use of fire.

It is certain that we should suspend our belief with regard to many of the relations brought us from distant countries. They take more pains to send us commodities from Malabar than real truths, and an accidental circumstance is frequently mistaken for an established custom. Thus we are told that at Cochin the king's son does not inherit his kingdom, but the son of his sister. Such a regulation is plainly repugnant to the law of nature; no man would willingly disinherit his own son; and, supposing the king of Cochin has no sister, who is to inherit the throne? It is probable that a politic nephew might have prevailed over the rights of a son ill advised and worse assisted, and that some traveller took this accident for an established law.

A hundred writers have copied after this traveller, and thus his error gains credit.

Some authors who have lived in India pretend to affirm that there is no private property in the Mogul's dominions, which would be still more contradictory to nature than the preceding story. At the same time we are told, and by the same writers, that they have had dealings with some of the Indians who have been worth millions. Now these two assertions seem a little contradictory. Let it be always remembered that the northern conquerors established the custom of fiefs from Lombardy to India. If a Banian, therefore, had travelled into Italy in the time of Astolphus and Alboan, could he with justice have affirmed that there was no private property among the Italians? We cannot labor too assiduously to refute a notion which is so humbling to mankind, as that of there being countries where millions of people incessantly toil for one single man.

We should be as cautious in crediting those who tell us of temples dedicated to lewdness. Let us put ourselves in the place of an Indian who might be witness to some of the scandalous scenes exhibited by our monks in Europe; should he affirm that these were the established rules of their order?

One circumstance which should claim your particular attention is, that almost all these people have imbibed an opinion that their gods have made frequent visits to the world. Vishnu assumed nine different shapes in the Ganges peninsula; Sammono-

codom, the god of the Siamese, put on man's form five hundred and fifty times. This notion is common to these people, as it was to the ancient Egyptians, Greeks, and Romans. This inconsiderate, ridiculous, and universal error proceeds from a rational sentiment, which is at the bottom of all hearts. We are naturally conscious of our dependence on a Supreme Being; and error mingling itself with truth has made the gods to be considered as lords who sometimes come to visit and reform their dominions. Religion has been in many nations like astrology; both the one and the other were prior to history, and both have been equally a mixture of truth and imposture. The first observers of the stars ascribed fictitious influences to them; the founders of strange religions, while they acknowledged the existence of a God, sullied His worship with superstitious practices.

Amidst the number of different religions, there is not one which has not made atonement for sins its chief end. Man has always felt a conviction that he stood in need of Divine clemency. This gave rise to those frightful penances to which the Bonzes, Brahmins, and Fakirs voluntarily subject themselves; and which, at the time that they seem to cry aloud for mercy upon human kind, have become a trade by which they get their livelihood.

I shall not enter upon the endless detail of all their customs, but there is one which appears so foreign to our manners that I cannot forbear mentioning it:

this is, that the Brahmins carry in procession the Phallum of the Egyptians, or the Roman Priapus. Our notions of decency would induce us to imagine that a ceremony which to us appears so infamous could never have been invented but by the spirit of lewdness itself; yet it is hardly to be supposed that depravity of manners could have established a religious ceremony among any people whatsoever. On the contrary, it is rather probable that this custom was at first introduced in the times of innocence; and that in the beginning they thought only of honoring the Deity in the symbol of that life which He has given us. A ceremony of this kind necessarily inspired youth with licentious notions, and appeared ridiculous to graver minds, as the world became more refined, more corrupted, or more knowing. But the ancient custom has been preserved, notwithstanding the abuse made of it; and there are few nations which have not preserved some ceremony which they could neither approve nor suppress.

After a review of so many extravagant notions and whimsical superstitions, would one readily believe that all the heathen people of India acknowledge, like us, an infinitely perfect Being, whom they term "The being of beings, the supreme being, invisible, incomprehensible, without form, the creator and preserver, just and merciful, who delights to bring to eternal happiness?" And yet these notions are actually contained in the Vedam, which is the Bible

of the ancient Brahmins; and are diffused through all the writings of the modern Brahmins.

A learned Danish missionary on the coast of Zanzibar, quotes several passages and forms of prayer, which seem the result of the most enlightened reason and refined sanctity. One of these is taken from a book entitled "Varabadu": "O supreme being of all beings, lord of heaven and earth, I cannot contain thy perfections in my heart. Before whom shall I deplore my misery if thou abandonest me; thou to whom I owe my support and preservation? Without thee I cannot live. Call me then, O Lord, and I may come toward thee."

And yet, notwithstanding this wisdom and sublimity in the doctrine, the vilest and most superstitious follies prevail in the exercise of their religion. This is a contradiction too common to human nature; the Greeks and Romans had the same idea of a Supreme Being, and yet they added such a number of inferior deities, the people worshipped these deities in so many superstitious ways, and stifled the truth under such a load of fictions that there was no distinguishing what was deserving of veneration from what merited contempt.

But you must not waste your time in inquiring into the numberless sects into which India was divided. Error appears there in too many shapes; besides, it is probable that our travellers have sometimes taken different rites for opposite sects. Every college of priests in ancient Greece and Rome had its particu-

lar ceremonies and sacrifices. Hercules was not worshipped after the same manner as Apollo, nor Juno like Venus; and yet all these forms of worship belonged to the same religion.

The people of our western hemisphere, in all these discoveries, gave proofs of a great superiority of genius and courage over the eastern nations. We have settled ourselves among them, and frequently in spite of their resistance. We have learned their languages, and have taught them some of our arts; but nature has given them one advantage which overbalances all ours; which is, that they do not want us, but we them.

CHAPTER CXXII.

ETHIOPIA, OR ABYSSINIA.

Before the time of these discoveries our western nations knew nothing of Ethiopia, besides the name. It was in the reign of the famous John II. of Portugal that Don Francisco d'Alvarez made his way into these vast regions which lie between the tropic and the equinoctial line, and are very difficult of access by sea.

On his arrival he found the Christian religion established in this country, not as it is among us, but as it was practised among the first Jews who embraced it, before the total separation of the two rites. This mixture of Judaism and Christianity has continued to be the established religion of Ethiopia

to this day. They keep the Jewish and Christian sabbath, and baptize and circumcise their children. The priests are permitted to marry; divorce is generally allowed; and polygamy is the custom here as well as among the rest of the eastern Jews.

Alvarez was the first who discovered the true position of the head of the Nile, and the cause of that river's periodical overflowings; two things which were wholly unknown to the ancients, even to the Egyptians themselves.

Alvarez's relation of these matters continued a long time to be of the number of those truths which are little known; and even to this time too many authors have echoed the errors of antiquity in asserting that it was not permitted to man to discover the sources of the Nile. The name of Prester John was at this time given to the negus or king of Ethiopia, without any other reason than because he pretended to be descended from the race of Solomon by the queen of Sheba, and that it was foretold, after the Crusades, that a Christian prince should be found in the world, named Prester John. However, the negus was neither a Christian nor a priest.

All the advantages reaped from the voyages to Ethiopia consisted in obtaining an embassy to be sent from the king of this country to Pope Clement VII. The country was very poor, though abounding in mines full of silver. The inhabitants, who were not so industrious as the Americans, knew not how to make use of these riches, nor yet to avail themselves

of those more substantial treasures which the earth furnishes to supply men's real wants.

Accordingly, we find that a negus of Ethiopia, named David, sent a letter to the Portuguese governor in the Indies, requesting him to supply him with workmen of all kinds: this was being indeed very poor. Three-fourths of Africa, America, and the northern part of Asia were in the same state of indigence. We are apt to think, amidst the ease and plenty we enjoy in our cities, that all the world resembles us, never reflecting that men lived for a long time like other animals, almost destitute of food and shelter, in the midst of mines of gold and diamonds.

This kingdom of Ethiopia, which we have heard so greatly extolled, was in fact so defenceless that a petty Mahometan king, who was master of a neighboring canton, made almost the entire conquest of it in the beginning of the sixteenth century. We have a famous letter of John Bermudes to Sebastian, king of Portugal, which may convince us, either that the Ethiopians are not that unconquerable people of whom Herodotus speaks, or that they are greatly degenerated.

This Latin patriarch was sent, with a few Portuguese soldiers, to protect the young negus of Abyssinia against the Moorish king before mentioned, who had invaded his dominions; but it unfortunately happened that after the negus was restored, the patriarch still insisted upon continuing his protector.

He was his godfather, and thought himself his master, on account of being his father and a patriarch. He therefore commanded him to submit to the pope's authority, and threatened him with excommunication in case of refusal. Alphonso d'Albuquerque did not behave with greater haughtiness toward the petty princes in the Ganges peninsula than the patriarch did to this monarch. But the godson being firmly settled again on his golden throne, paid little regard to the commands or menaces of his godfather; and, instead of acknowledging the pope's authority, expelled the patriarch from his dominions.

This same Bermudes pretends that, on the frontiers lying between Abyssinia and the territories bordering on the source of the Nile, there is a small district where two-thirds of the earth is filled with gold. This was what the Portuguese went in search of, but they were disappointed in their expectations. This was the true occasion of those voyages of which the patriarchs were the pretext. There is reason to believe that the earth in Africa contains great quantities of this metal, which has put the whole world in motion. The gold sands which roll down its rivers plainly show that there is a large supply of this ore in the neighboring mountains. But hitherto this supply has eluded the search of avarice; and, in consequence of the efforts made in America and Asia, we are less liable to prosecute any attempts in the middle of Africa.

CHAPTER CXXIII.

COLUMBUS AND AMERICA.

It is to these discoveries of the Portuguese in the old world that we are indebted for the new, if we may call the conquest of America an obligation, which proved so fatal to its inhabitants, and at times to the conquerors themselves.

This was doubtless the most important event that ever happened on our globe, one-half of which had hitherto been strangers to the other. Whatever had been esteemed most great or noble before seemed absorbed in this kind of new creation. We still mention with respectful admiration the names of the Argonauts, who did not perform the hundredth part of what was done by the sailors under da Gama and Albuquerque. How many altars would have been raised by the ancients to a Greek who had discovered America! And yet Bartholomew and Christopher Columbus were not thus rewarded.

Columbus, struck with the wonderful expeditions of the Portuguese, imagined that something greater might yet be done; and from a bare inspection of the map of our world concluded that there must be another, which might be found by sailing always west. He had courage equal to his genius, or indeed superior, seeing he had to struggle with the prejudices of his contemporaries, and the repulses of several princes to whom he tendered his services.

Genoa, which was his native country, treated his schemes as visionary, and by that means lost the only opportunity that could have offered of aggrandizing her power. Henry VII., king of England, who was too greedy of money to hazard any on this noble attempt, would not listen to the proposals made by Columbus's brother; and Columbus himself was rejected by John II. of Portugal, whose attention was wholly employed on the coast of Africa. He had no prospect of success in applying to the French, whose marine lay totally neglected, and their affairs more confused than ever, during the minority of Charles VIII. The emperor Maximilian had neither ports for shipping, money to fit out a fleet, nor sufficient courage to engage in a scheme of this nature. The Venetians indeed might have undertaken it; but whether the natural aversion of the Genoese to these people would not suffer Columbus to apply to the rivals of his country, or the Venetians had no idea of anything more important than the trade they carried on from Alexandria and in the Levant; Columbus at length fixed all his hopes on the court of Spain.

Ferdinand, king of Aragon, and Isabella, queen of Castile, had by their marriage united all Spain under one dominion, excepting only the kingdom of Granada, which was still held by the Moors, but which Ferdinand soon after took from them. The union of these two princes had prepared the way for the greatness of Spain, which was afterward begun

by Columbus; however, he was obliged to undergo eight years of incessant application before Isabella's court would consent to accept of the inestimable benefit this great man offered it. The bane of all great projects is the want of money. The Spanish court was poor; and the prior Perez, and two merchants named Pinzono, were obliged to advance seventeen thousand ducats toward fitting out the armament. Columbus procured a patent from the court, and at length set sail from the port of Palos, in Andalusia, with three small ships, on Aug. 23, 1492.

It was more than a month after his departure from the Canary Islands, where he had anchored to get refreshments, when Columbus discovered the first island in America; and during this short run he suffered more from the murmurings and discontent of the people of his fleet than he had done even from the refusals of the princes he had applied to. This island, which he discovered and named San Salvador, lies about a thousand leagues from the Canaries. He soon after discovered the Bahamas, together with those of Cuba and Hispaniola, now called San Domingo.

Ferdinand and Isabella were surprised to see him return at the end of nine months — on March 15, 1493 — with some of the American natives of Hispaniola, several rarities from that country, and a quantity of gold, with which he presented their majesties.

The king and queen made him sit down in their

presence, covered like a grandee of Spain, and created him high-admiral and viceroy of the new world. Columbus was now regarded as an extraordinary person sent from heaven. Everyone was vying who should be foremost in assisting him in his undertakings, and embarking under his command. He soon set sail again, with a fleet of seventeen ships. He now made the discovery of several new islands, particularly the Caribbeans and Jamaica. Doubt had been changed to admiration on his first voyage, in this second, admiration was turned into envy.

He was admiral and viceroy, and to these titles he might have added that of the benefactor of Ferdinand and Isabella. Nevertheless, he was brought home to Spain a prisoner by judges who had been purposely sent out on board his fleet to observe his conduct. As soon as it was known that Columbus had arrived, the people ran to meet him, as the guardian genius of Spain. Columbus was brought from the ship, and appeared on shore chained hands and feet.

He had been thus treated by the orders of Fonseca, bishop of Burgos, the intendant of the expedition, whose ingratitude was as great as the other's services. Isabella was ashamed of what she saw, and did all in her power to make Columbus amends for the injuries done to him; however, he was not suffered to depart again for four years, either because they feared that he would seize what he

had discovered for himself, or they wished to have time to observe his behavior. At length, in 1498, he was sent on another voyage to his new world; and now it was that he discovered the continent at six degrees distance from the equator, and saw that part of the coast on which Cartagena has been since built.

At the time that Columbus first promised a new hemisphere, it was insisted that no such hemisphere could exist; and after he had made the actual discovery of it, it was pretended that it had been known long before. I shall not mention one Martin Behem, of Nuremberg, who, it is said, went from that city to the Straits of Magellan in 1460, with a patent from a duchess of Burgundy, who, as she was not alive at that time, could not issue patents. Nor shall I take notice of the pretended charts of this Martin Behem, which are still shown, nor of the evident contradictions which discredit this story; but, in short, it was not pretended that Martin Behem had peopled America; the honor was given to the Carthaginians; and a book of Aristotle's — which he never wrote — was quoted on this occasion. Some found a conformity between some words in the Caribbee and Hebrew languages, and did not fail to follow so fine an opening. Others were positive that the children of Noah, after settling in Siberia, passed over to Canada on the ice, and that their descendants, born in Canada, had gone and peopled Peru. According to others again, the Chinese and Japanese sent colonies into America, and carried

over lions with them for their diversion, though there are no lions either in China or Japan. In this manner have many learned men argued upon the discoveries made by men of genius. If it should be asked how men first came upon the continent of America, it is not easily answered, that they were placed there by the same power that caused trees and grass to grow.

The reply which Columbus made to some of those who envied him the great reputation he had gained is still famous. These people pretended that nothing could be more easy than the discoveries he had made; upon which he proposed to them to set an egg upright on one of its ends; but when they had tried in vain to do it, he broke one end of the egg, and set it upright with ease. They told him anyone could do that. "How comes it, then," replied Columbus, "that no one among you thought of it?" This story is related of Brunelleschi, who improved architecture at Florence, many years before Columbus was born. Most *bons mots* are only the repetition of things that have been said before.

The ashes of Columbus cannot be affected by the reputation he gained while living, in having doubled for us the works of the creation. But mankind delight to do justice to the illustrious dead, either from a vain hope that they enhance thereby the merit of the living, or that they are naturally fond of truth. Americo Vespucci, whom we call Americus Vespucius, a merchant of Florence, had the honor of giving his name to this new half of the globe, in

which he did not possess one acre of land, and pretended to be the first who discovered the continent. But supposing it true that he was the first discoverer, the glory was certainly due to the one who had the penetration and courage to undertake the first voyage. Honor, as Newton says in his dispute with Leibnitz, is due only to the first inventor; those that follow after are only his scholars. Columbus had made three voyages as admiral and viceroy, five years before Americus Vespucius had made one as a geographer, under the command of Admiral Ojeda; but this latter wrote to his friends at Florence that he had discovered a new world, and they believed him on his word, and the citizens of Florence decreed that a grand illumination should be made before the door of his house every three years, on the feast of All Saints. And yet, could this man be said to deserve any honors for happening to be on board a fleet that in 1489 sailed along the coast of Brazil, when Columbus had, five years before, pointed out the way to the rest of the world?

There has lately appeared at Florence a life of this Americus Vespucius, which seems to be written with very little regard to truth, and without any conclusive reasoning. Several French authors who have done justice to Columbus's merit are there complained of; but the writer should not have assailed the French authors, but the Spanish, who were the first that did this justice. This writer says that he will confound the vanity of the French nation, which

has always attacked with impunity the honor and success of the Italian nation. What vanity can there be in saying that it was a Genoese who first discovered America? Or how is the honor of the Italian nation injured in owning that it was to an Italian, born at Genoa, that we are indebted for the new world? I purposely remark this want of equity, good breeding, and good sense, as we have too many examples of it; and I must say that the good French writers have, in general, been the least guilty of this insufferable fault; and one great reason of their being so universally read throughout Europe is their doing justice to all nations.

The inhabitants of these islands, and of the continent, were a new race of men. They were all without beards, and were as much astonished at the faces of the Spaniards as they were at their ships and artillery; they at first looked upon these new visitors as monsters, or gods, who had come out of the sky, or the sea. These voyages and those of the Portuguese had now taught us how inconsiderable a spot of the globe our Europe was, and what an astonishing variety reigns in the world. Hindostan was known to be inhabited by a race of men whose complexions were yellow. In Africa and Asia, at some distance from the equator, there had been found several kinds of black men; and after travellers had penetrated into America as far as the line, they met with a race of people who were tolerably white. The natives of Brazil are of a bronze color. The Chinese

still appear to differ entirely from the rest of mankind in the cast of their eyes and noses. But what is still to be remarked is, that into whatsoever regions these various races are transplanted, their complexions never change, unless they mingle with the natives of the country. The mucous membrane of the negroes, which is known to be of a black color, is a manifest proof that there is a different principle in each species of men, as well as plants.

Dependent upon this principle, nature has formed the different degrees of genius, and the characters of nations, which are seldom known to change. Hence the negroes are slaves to other men, and are purchased on the coast of Africa like beasts, for a sum of money; and the vast multitudes of negroes transplanted into our American colonies serve as slaves under a very inconsiderable number of Europeans. Experience has also taught us how great a superiority the Europeans have over the Americans, who are everywhere easily overcome, and have not dared to attempt a revolution, though a thousand to one.

This part of America was again remarkable on account of its animals and plants, which are not to be found in the other three parts of the world, and which are of so great use to us. Horses, corn of all kinds, and iron, were wanting in Mexico and Peru, and among the many valuable commodities unknown to the old world, cochineal was the principal, and was brought us from this country. Its use in dyeing has now made us forget the scarlet, which for time

immemorial had been the only thing known for giving a fine red color.

The importation of cochineal was soon succeeded by that of indigo, cocoa, vanilla, and those woods which serve for ornament and medicinal purposes, particularly the quinquina, or Peruvian bark, which is the only specific against intermittent fevers. Nature had placed this remedy in the mountains of Peru, while she had dispersed the disease it cured through all the rest of the world. This new continent also furnished pearls, colored stones, and diamonds.

It is certain that America at present furnishes the meanest citizen of Europe with his conveniences and pleasures. The gold and silver mines, at their first discovery, were of service only to the kings of Spain and the merchants; the rest of the world was impoverished by them, for the great multitudes who did not follow business found themselves possessed of a very small quantity of specie, in comparison with the immense sums accumulated by those who had the advantage of the first discoveries. But by degrees the great quantity of gold and silver which was sent from America was scattered through Europe, and by passing into a number of hands the distribution has become more equal. The price of commodities has also increased in Europe, in proportion to the increase of specie.

To comprehend how the treasures of America passed from the possession of the Spaniards into that

of other nations, it will be sufficient to consider these two things: the use which Charles V. and Philip II. made of their money, and the manner in which other nations acquired a share in the mines of Peru.

The emperor Charles V., who was always travelling and always at war, necessarily scattered a great quantity of that specie which he received from Mexico and Peru, through Germany and Italy. When he sent his son, Philip, over to England to marry Queen Mary, and take the title of king of England, that prince deposited in the tower of London twenty-seven large chests of silver in bars, and a hundred horse-loads of gold and silver coin. The troubles in Flanders and the intrigues of the League in France cost this Philip, according to his own confession, above three thousand million livres of our money.

The manner in which the gold and silver of Peru is distributed among all the people of Europe, and is sent to the East Indies, is a surprising, though well-known circumstance. By a strict law enacted by Ferdinand and Isabella, and afterward confirmed by Charles V. and all the kings of Spain, all other nations were not only excluded from entering into any of the ports in Spanish America, but also from having the least share, directly or indirectly, in the trade of that part of the world. One would have imagined that this law would have enabled the Spaniards to subdue all Europe; and yet Spain exists only by the continual violation of this very law. It

can hardly furnish exports for America to the value of four millions, whereas the rest of Europe sometimes sends over merchandise to the amount of nearly fifty millions. This prodigious trade of the nations is carried on by the Spaniards themselves, who are always faithful in their dealings with individuals, and always cheating their king, who stands in great need of it. The Spaniards give no security to foreign merchants for the performance of their contracts; a mutual credit, without which there never could have been any commerce, supplies the place of other obligations.

The manner in which the Spaniards for a long time consigned to foreigners the gold and silver which was brought home by their galleons, was still more surprising. The Spaniard who at Cadiz is properly agent for the foreigner, delivered the bullion he received to the care of certain bravos, called meteors. These, armed with pistols and long swords, carried the bullion, in parcels properly marked, to the ramparts, and threw them over to other meteors, who waited below and carried them to the boats which were to receive them, and these boats carried them aboard the ships in the road. These meteors and the agents, together with the commissaries and the guards, who never disturbed them, had each a stated fee, and the foreign merchant was never cheated. The king, who received a duty upon this money on the arrival of the galleons, was also a gainer; so that, properly speaking, the law only

was cheated: a law which would be absolutely useless if not eluded, and which, nevertheless, cannot yet be abrogated, because old prejudices are always the most difficult to overcome.

The greatest instance of the violation of this law, and of the fidelity of the Spaniards, was in the year 1684, when war was declared between France and Spain. His Catholic majesty endeavored to seize upon the effects of all the French in his kingdom; but he in vain issued edicts and admonitions, inquiries and excommunications; not a single Spanish agent would betray his French correspondent. This fidelity, which does so much honor to the Spanish nation, plainly shows that men willingly obey only those laws which they themselves have made for the good of society, and that those which are the mere effects of a sovereign's will always meet with opposition.

As the discovery of America was at first the source of much good to the Spaniards, it afterward occasioned them many and considerable evils. One has been the loss to that kingdom of its subjects, by the great numbers necessarily required to people the colonies; another was the infection of the world with a disease which was before known only in the new world, and particularly in the island of Hispaniola. Several of the companions of Christopher Columbus returned home infected with this contagion, which afterward spread over Europe. It is certain that this poison, which taints the springs of life, was peculiar to America, as the plague and

smallpox were diseases originally endemic to the southern parts of Numidia. We are not to believe that the eating of human flesh, practised by some of the American savages, occasioned this disorder. There were no cannibals on the island of Hispaniola, where it was most frequent and inveterate; neither are we to suppose, with some, that it proceeded from a too great excess of sensual pleasures. Nature has never punished excesses of this kind with such disorders in the world; and even to this day we find that a momentary indulgence, which has been forgotten for eight or ten years, may bring this cruel and shameful scourge upon the chastest union.

And now, in order to see how this half of the globe became a prey to the powers of Christendom, it will be necessary to follow the Spaniards in their discoveries and conquests.

The great Columbus, after having built several houses on these islands, and discovered the continent, returned to Spain, where he enjoyed a reputation, unsullied by rapine or cruelty, and died at Valladolid in 1506. But the governors of Cuba and Hispaniola who succeeded him, being persuaded that these provinces furnished gold, resolved to make the discovery at the price of the lives of the inhabitants. In short, whether they thought the natives had conceived an implacable hatred to them, or were apprehensive of their superior numbers; or the rage of slaughter, when once they begun knew no bounds; they in the space of a few years entirely depopulated His-

paniola and Cuba, the former of which contained three millions of inhabitants, and the latter above six hundred thousand.

Bartholomew de las Casas, bishop of Chiapa, who was witness to these desolations, relates that they hunted down the natives with dogs. These wretched savages, almost naked and without arms, were pursued like wild beasts in a forest, devoured alive by dogs, shot to death, or surprised and burned in their habitations.

He further declares, from ocular testimony, that they frequently caused a number of these miserable wretches to be summoned by a priest to come in and submit to the Christian religion and to the king of Spain, and that after this ceremony, which was only an additional act of injustice, they put them to death without the least remorse. I believe that las Casas has exaggerated in many parts of his narrative; but, allowing him to have said ten times more than is truth, there remains enough to make us shudder with horror.

It may seem surprising that this massacre of a whole race of men could have been carried on in the sight and under the administration of several priests of the order of St. Jerome; for we know that Cardinal Ximenes, who was prime minister of Castile before the time of Charles V., sent over four monks of this order, in quality of president of the royal council of the islands. Doubtless, they were not able to resist the torrent, and the hatred of the natives to

their new masters being, with just reason, implacable, rendered their destruction unhappily necessary.

CHAPTER CXIV.

FERNANDO CORTES.

Fernando Cortes set sail from the island of Cuba in 1519, on a new expedition to the continent. This man, who was no more than a private lieutenant to the governor of a newly-discovered island, and had with him only six hundred men, eighteen horses, and a few field-pieces, set out to conquer the most powerful state of America. At first he was fortunate to meet with a Spaniard who, having been nine years a prisoner at Yucatan, on the road to Mexico, served him as an interpreter. An American lady, whom he called Doña Marina, became at once his mistress and chief counsellor, having learned Spanish enough to be an interpreter for him also. To complete his good fortune, he met with a volcano full of sulphur and saltpetre; which served him to replace the powder he spent in his engagements. He coasted all along the Gulf of Mexico, sometimes caressing the natives, and at others making war upon them. On his way he met with several well-governed towns, where the arts were held in estimation. The powerful republic of Tlaxcala, which flourished under an aristocratic government, opposed his further passage; but the sight of the horses, and the report of the cannon, soon put this ill-armed multitude to

flight, and he made peace with them on his own terms. Six thousand of these new allies accompanied him from Tlaxcala on his journey to Mexico, which empire he entered without resistance, though forbidden by the sovereign; who, nevertheless, had thirty vassal kings under his command, each of whom could appear in the field at the head of a hundred thousand men, armed with those sharp stones which they used instead of steel.

The city of Mexico, which was built in the midst of a large lake, was one of the most noble monuments of American industry. Immense causeways went across this lake, raised upon small boats made of the trunks of trees hollowed. The city abounded with spacious and convenient houses, built of stone; noble squares, market-places, and shops full of the most curious pieces of workmanship, carved and engraved in gold and silver; rich vessels of painted porcelain; cotton stuffs; and ornaments of feathers; which formed the most beautiful patterns with the variety of their colors and shades. Near the great market-place stood a palace, where all disputes between the traders were decided in an expeditious manner, like those justice courts of the consuls at Paris, which were first established by Charles IX., after the destruction of the empire of Mexico. Several palaces belonging to the emperor Montezuma, added to the magnificence of this city. One of them, raised on columns of jasper, was set apart for containing the curiosities which minister only to

pleasure. Another was filled with offensive and defensive weapons, richly adorned with gold and precious stones. A third was surrounded by spacious gardens, wholly devoted to the raising of medicinal plants, proper officers distributing them to the sick, and giving an account of the success attending the use of them to the ruler; and these physicians also kept a register of cases, after their manner, being unacquainted with writing. The other articles of magnificence prove only the progress of the arts in that kingdom; this latter shows the progress of morality.

If it were not incident to human nature to blend the best things with the worst, we should not be able to conceive how this moral institution could agree with those barbarous sacrifices in which human blood was poured forth in torrents before their idol, Huitzilopochtli, who was worshipped by them as the god of armies. The ambassador of Montezuma told Cortes, as it is pretended, that their master had sacrificed every year, during his wars, nearly twenty thousand enemies in the great temple of Mexico. This is a great exaggeration, and evidently calculated to cover over the injustices committed by the conqueror of Montezuma; but when the Spaniards afterward entered the grand temple of Mexico, they actually found, among other ornaments, a great number of human skulls, hung up by way of trophies; in the same manner as the ancients have described to us the temple of Diana in the Taurica Chersonesus.

The religions of most nations have had something inhuman and bloody in their institutions. The Gauls, Carthaginians, and Syrians offered human victims to their deities. The Jewish law, itself, seems to allow of these sacrifices; and it is said in Leviticus, "If a living soul has been vowed to God, no one shall redeem it, that soul shall surely die." The Jewish writings tell us that, when that nation invaded the small country of the Canaanites, they put the men, women, children, and domestic animals of several villages to the sword, because they had been vowed to God. On this law were founded the oaths of Jephthah and Saul, the first of whom sacrificed his daughter, and the other would have slain his own son, had he not been withheld by the cries of the army. And by this law it was that Samuel slew King Agag, Saul's prisoner, and hewed him in pieces before the camp of the Israelites — an action as barbarous and shocking to human nature as any that was ever practised by the most ruthless savages, and which indeed would have been a most enormous crime, had not God Himself, in whose hands are life and death, and whom no man can call to account, seen fit to order it so, in the unfathomable depths of His divine justice. But it appears that the Mexicans sacrificed only their enemies, and were not cannibals, like some of the American tribes.

Their policy was, in every other respect, prudent and humane. The education of youth was one of the principal objects of government, and there were

public schools established for those of both sexes. We still admire the Egyptians for having discovered that the year consisted of three hundred and sixty-five days. Astronomy was carried to as great a length among the Mexicans.

They had reduced war to a regular art, which had given them a great superiority over all of their neighbors; and the exact management of the public treasury maintained the empire in lustre, and made it equally feared and envied by surrounding nations.

But the warlike animals on which the Spaniards were mounted; the artificial thunders which seemed formed under their hands; the floating wooden castles, which had brought them over the ocean; the steel armor which defended them from the enemies' darts; and the rapid victories with which they marked their progress in all places where they came: all these subjects of wonder, added to that natural weakness which inclines men to admiration, had such an effect on the Mexicans that as soon as Cortes appeared before that city, Montezuma received him as his master, and the inhabitants as their God. The streets were lined with people, on their knees, to see a Spanish subaltern march through.

Those who have given us a history of these surprising events have thought fit to enhance them by supposed miracles, which have rather lessened their true merit. The only real miracle was in Cortes's behavior. By degrees Montezuma and his court, coming to be better acquainted with their new guests,

ventured to treat them like men; a party of these Spaniards being at Vera Cruz, on the road to Mexico, a general was despatched with private orders from the emperor to attack them; and, though his troops were routed in the engagement, they killed three or four Spaniards, and sent one of their heads to Montezuma. Upon this, Cortes did the boldest thing that ever was attempted by politician; he went directly to the palace, followed by fifty of his Spaniards, and Doña Marina, who always accompanied him as his interpreter; and after having tried persuasion and menaces, he brought the emperor prisoner with him to the Spanish quarters, where he obliged him to deliver up those who had attacked his people at Vera Cruz, then loaded him with irons, as a general would punish a private soldier, and obliged him publicly to acknowledge himself a vassal to the emperor Charles V.

Montezuma and the chiefs of his empire then delivered to Cortes, as the tribute annexed to their homage, six hundred thousand marks of pure gold, together with an incredible quantity of jewels, and pieces of exquisite workmanship in gold, with whatever the industry of several ages had executed of most rare and valuable. Cortes reserved a fifth part of these treasures for the use of his master, kept another fifth for himself, and divided the rest among his soldiers.

It may be reckoned among the greatest prodigies that, notwithstanding the mutual jealousies and

divisions which reigned among the conquerors of the new world, and were carried to the greatest extremes, their conquests never suffered. Never did truth wear so little an appearance of probability. While Cortes was subduing the empire of Mexico with five hundred men, which were all he had left, Velasquez, the governor of Cuba, more offended at the reputation which his lieutenant had gained than at his want of submission to his authority, sent almost all the troops he had under his command, which consisted of eight hundred foot, and eighty horsemen well mounted, together with two small pieces of cannon, to reduce Cortes, and take him prisoner, and afterward pursue the plan of his victories.

Cortes, who had now a thousand of his own countrymen to fight against, and the whole continent to keep in subjection, left eighty of his people to take care of the kingdom of Mexico, and marched with the rest to give battle to those whom Velasquez had sent against him. He defeated one part, and found means to gain over the rest. In short, this little army, which came bent upon his destruction, enlisted under his standard, and he led them back to Mexico.

The emperor was still confined in prison, guarded by the eighty men whom Cortes had left behind in the city. Alvarado, the officer who commanded them, on a false report that the Mexicans had formed a conspiracy to deliver their emperor, took the opportunity of a public festival, while two thou-

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sand of the principal lords of the kingdom were drowned in the excess of strong liquors, to fall upon them with fifty of his soldiers, who murdered them, and all their attendants, without the least resistance; after which, he stripped them of all the gold, ornaments and jewels with which they had decked themselves on this public occasion. This outrage, which was justly imputed to a villainous avarice, effectually roused these too patient people, who instantly revolted against their perfidious conquerors; and when Cortes arrived at Mexico, he found two hundred thousand Americans in arms against his eighty Spaniards, who had enough to do to defend themselves, and retain the emperor their prisoner. The Mexicans besieged Cortes in his quarters, resolved to deliver their prince; and, without the least regard to their lives, rushed in crowds upon the cannon and small arms, which made a dreadful slaughter among them. Antonio de Solis calls this action a revolt, and their intrepid bravery, brutality. So apt are writers to catch the spirit of injustice from conquerors.

Montezuma was slain in one of these engagements, by a wound he unluckily received from one of his own subjects. Cortes had the insolence to propose to this monarch, of whose death he was the cause, to embrace Christianity before he expired, and his mistress, Doña Marina, was to be the catechist. The unhappy prince died, vainly imploring the vengeance of heaven against these usurpers of his

kingdom. He left behind him children still weaker than himself, whom the kings of Spain have, without the least apprehension, left in possession of several lands in Mexico; and, to this day, there are some of the descendants of this emperor in a right line, who live in the city of Mexico, and are called the counts of Montezuma. They are at present no more than private gentlemen, are of the Christian religion, and live confounded in the throng.

After the death of Montezuma, the Mexicans elected a new emperor, who, like them, thirsted for revenge upon his tyrant conquerors. This was the famous Guatimozin, whose destiny proved still more fatal than that of his predecessor. Immediately upon his election, he armed all his subjects against the Spaniards.

Despair, an unquenchable thirst of revenge, and implacable hatred, now carried this wretched multitude madly on, against those very people whom, but a little before, they did not dare to approach but on the knees. The Spaniards were wearied with slaying, and the Americans continued to be slaughtered in crowds, without being in the least dismayed. Cortes now found himself obliged to abandon the city, where he was in danger of being starved; but the Indians had broken down the causeways: however, the Spaniards made themselves a bridge of the dead bodies of their enemies; but, in this bloody retreat, they lost all the treasures they had won for Charles V. and for themselves. Every day's march

was a battle, in which some Spaniard lost his life, which was paid for by the deaths of thousands of these wretched people, who fought almost naked.

Cortes had no fleet; he therefore employed his soldiers, and the Indians he had with him, in building nine boats, with which he proposed to enter Mexico by the very lake which seemed to shut him out from that city.

The Mexicans had no apprehensions in venturing on a naval fight; they covered the lake with five thousand boats, each carrying two men, and advanced to attack Cortes's nine boats, which carried about three hundred men. But these, having their field-pieces with them, soon destroyed the Mexican fleet, while Cortes with the remainder of his troops, attacked them from the causeways. The Spaniards, with the loss of only twenty men killed, and seven taken prisoners, achieved a more important victory in this part of the world than had ever been accomplished by all the multitudes slain in our battles. The Mexicans sacrificed the prisoners they had taken in their grand temple; but, at length, after several successive engagements, Guatimozin and his wife were made prisoners by the Spaniards. This is the Guatimozin so famous for the speech he made, when a receiver of the king of Spain's treasures ordered him to be laid on a coal fire, to discover in what part of the lake he had hidden his riches; his high priest, who was sentenced to the same punishment, and lay broiling by his side, could not refrain from

crying out aloud; when Guatimozin rebuked him sternly, saying: "Am I, thinkest thou, on a bed of roses?"

Cortes had now, in 1521, made himself absolute master of the city of Mexico, and the whole empire was reduced to the Spanish dominion, as were also Golden Castile, Darien, and all the neighboring territories.

What now was the reward Cortes met with for such unheard-of services? The same as Columbus; he was persecuted, and by that very bishop, Fonseca, who, after having been instrumental in sending home the discoverer of America, loaded with chains, wanted now to treat its conqueror in the same manner. In short, notwithstanding the titles which his country bestowed upon him, at his return he was held but in slight estimation. It was with difficulty that he could even obtain an audience with Charles V. One day, he pushed through the crowd that surrounded the emperor's coach, and got on the step of the door, when Charles asked who that man was. "It is he," answered Cortes, "who has given you more dominions than your ancestors left you towns."

CHAPTER CXXV.

THE CONQUEST OF PERU.

ALTHOUGH Cortes had conquered for Charles V. a new country of over two hundred leagues in length, and one hundred and fifty in breadth, this was

deemed a small achievement. The isthmus which confines the continent of America between two seas is not more than twenty-five common leagues over; and from the top of a mountain near Nombre de Dios a spectator may behold on one side the North Sea, and on the other the Pacific Ocean. In 1513, then, an attempt was made to discover by this South Sea new countries to conquer.

In 1527, Diego d'Almagro, and Francisco Pizarro, two private adventurers, who hardly knew who were their fathers, and whose education had been so much neglected that they could neither write nor read, were the persons by whose industry Charles V. acquired a new tract of country, far more extensive and rich than Mexico itself. At first they discovered about three hundred leagues of coast; soon afterward they were told that, about the equinoctial line, and beneath the other tropic, there was an immense country, in which gold, silver, and precious stones were as common as wood, and that this country was governed by a king as absolute as Montezuma; for throughout the universe despotism is ever the consequence of great riches.

From Cuzco and the parts bordering on the tropic of Capricorn, as far as the Pearl Islands, which lie in six degrees south latitude, the whole country is under the dominion of one absolute monarch, who extends his despotic sway over a tract of nearly thirty degrees. This monarch was of the race of those conquerors called Incas, and his name was

Atahualpa; his father, who had conquered the whole country of Quito, which is at present the capital of Peru, had by the labor of his soldiers, and the people he had conquered, made a great road, more than five hundred leagues in length, from Cuzco to Quito, over vast precipices, and rugged mountains. This noble monument of obedience and human industry has been neglected by the Spaniards. A number of couriers, stationed every half league, carried the orders of this mighty monarch to all parts of the kingdom. Thus much for the policy. To form a judgment of the magnificence of this empire, it will be sufficient to know that whenever the king went on a journey, he was seated on a throne of gold, which weighed twenty-five thousand ducats, and the litter, which was made of plates of pure gold, on which this throne was carried, was borne on the shoulders of the chief grandees of the kingdom.

Francisco Pizarro began the conquest of this empire with two hundred and fifty foot, sixty horsemen, and about a dozen small field-pieces, which were drawn by the captives he had taken in his march through the country. He arrived off Quito, which is on the other side of the equator, by way of the Pacific. Atahualpa was then at Quito, at the head of about forty thousand soldiers armed with darts, and long pikes of gold and silver. Pizarro began, as Cortes had done at Mexico, by sending ambassadors to the Inca with offers of friendship, in the name of his master, Charles V. The Inca

returned for answer, that he should not receive as friends the despoilers of his country, till they had restored all they had taken in their route; and immediately he marched to meet the Spaniards. When the Inca's army and the Castilian troops met, the Spaniards endeavored to have even the appearance of religion on their side, and sent a monk, named Valverda, whom they had made bishop of a country they had not yet conquered, into the Inca's camp. The priest advanced toward the emperor with a Bible in his hand, and an interpreter by his side, who told the monarch that he must believe what was written in that book. After this he made a long sermon on the mysteries of the Christian faith. Historians are not agreed concerning the manner in which this sermon was received; but they all acknowledge that this harangue ended in a battle.

The artillery, horses, and steel armor produced the same effect on the Peruvians as they had done on the Mexicans; and the Spaniards had nothing to do but to kill them. Atahualpa was dragged from his golden throne by the conquerors, and loaded with chains.

The captive emperor, in order to procure a speedy deliverance, promised too large a ransom: according to Herrara and Zarata, he obliged himself to give as much gold as the hall of one of his palaces would contain, heaped as high as his hand, which he held over his head. His couriers were instantly despatched on all sides to collect this immense ransom:

gold and silver were brought in prodigious quantities to the Spaniard's quarters every day; but whether the Peruvians were wearied with stripping themselves to release their captive emperor, or Atahualpa was not sufficiently pressing with them, he could not fulfil the whole of his promise. This exasperated the conquerors, who had formed ideas of immense riches, and finding their avarice disappointed, they grew furious, and condemned the emperor to be burned alive; but promised him this favor, that if he would turn to the Christian religion, they would strangle him before he was burned. Accordingly he was baptized by Valverda, who, by the mouth of an interpreter, read him a long lecture upon Christianity, after which he was hanged, and then thrown into the fire. Some writers, who were eye-witnesses of these transactions, and among the rest, Zarata, say that Francisco Pizarro had at that time sailed for Europe to carry Charles V. a part of the treasures taken from Atahaulpa, and that d'Almagro alone was guilty of this barbarity. The bishop of Chiapa, whom we mentioned in the foregoing chapter, adds that they put several of the king's generals to the same cruel death; and that these by a generosity as great as the conqueror's barbarity, chose rather to accept of death than discover their master's treasure.

However, by the ransom already obtained from Atahaulpa, each Spanish horseman had two hundred and forty marks in pure gold; each foot soldier one

hundred and sixty, and they divided about ten times as much silver in the same proportion; so that a horseman had about one-third more than a foot soldier. The officers got immense riches, and, in 1534, there were sent over to Charles V. thirty thousand marks in silver, three thousand in fine gold unwrought, and twenty thousand marks weight of silver, and two thousand of gold, in the workmanship of the country. America might have supplied him with sufficient riches to have kept one part of Europe in subjection, especially the popes, who had granted him the investiture of this new world, had he had frequent remittances of this value.

It is difficult to say whether we should most admire the persevering courage of those who discovered and conquered so many countries, or detest their barbarity; the same principle, avarice, was productive of all the good and all the evil. Diego d'Almagro marched to Cuzco, through multitudes, whom his very presence dispersed, and penetrated as far as Chili, on the other side of the Tropic of Capricorn. He took possession of all the places he passed through, in the name of Charles V. But it was not long before discord arose between these conquerors, as it had before done between Velasquez and Cortes, in North America.

D'Almagro and Pizarro engaged in a civil war against each other, even in Cuzco, the capital of the Inca's empire. The recruits they had received from Europe divided themselves into different parties, and

fought for the chief of their own election. A bloody battle was fought under the walls of Cuzco, while the Peruvians, who stood as idle spectators, had not the courage to take advantage of the weakness of their common enemy; nay, there were some of them in each army who fought for their tyrants, and the rest stood in brutal stupidity waiting to know which party of their destroyers they were to pay submission to; and yet neither army of the Spaniards consisted of above three hundred men; so great a superiority has nature given the Europeans over the inhabitants of the new world. At length d'Almagro was made prisoner, and beheaded, by order of his rival Pizarro, who was soon afterward assassinated himself, by some of d'Almagro's friends.

The Spanish government was now established throughout the new world. Governors were appointed to the great provinces, and courts for trying causes like those of our parliaments at Paris. Archbishops, bishops, the officers of the Inquisition, and all the other members of church-government exercised their functions the same as at Madrid, when the captains, who had conquered Peru for Charles V., now made an attempt to seize this empire for themselves. One of d'Almagro's sons got himself proclaimed king of Peru; but the rest of the Spaniards choosing to obey their master in Europe rather than to be subject to a king who was only one of their companions, seized upon this new monarch, and gave him up to die by the hands of the executioner.

A brother of Pizarro's, whose ambition prompted him to a scheme of the same nature, met with a similar fate. These rebellions against Charles V. were raised by his own Spaniards, and not by the conquered natives.

In the midst of these civil broils, and mutual battles, the conquerors discovered the rich mines of Potosi, which were unknown to the Peruvians themselves. It is not exaggeration to say that the earth in this part of the kingdom was almost all silver; and it is far from exhausted even to this day. The Peruvians were employed by the Spaniards in working these mines, as if the latter had been the lawful proprietors. Soon afterward they reinforced these slaves with a number of negroes, whom they purchased on the coast of Africa, and transported to Peru, like animals destined for the service of men.

In fact, they treated neither these negroes nor the inhabitants of the new world like human creatures. Las Casas, a Dominican friar, and bishop of Chiapa, whom we have had occasion to quote more than once, moved with compassion at the sufferings of these poor wretches, had the courage to complain to Charles V. and Philip II. of the cruelties exercised upon them by his countrymen, in a memorial, which is still extant. He there represents the Americans in general as a mild and timorous people, whose faint-heartedness naturally makes them slaves to others. He says that the Spaniards considered this timorous disposition only as a means of more effectually

destroying them; and that in Cuba and Jamaica, and the neighboring islands, they murdered more than twelve hundred thousand of their fellow creatures, as hunters would beasts of prey whom they were endeavoring to root out of a forest. "I have known them," said he, "in the islands of San Domingo and Jamaica, to erect gibbets all over the country, upon every one of which they hanged thirteen of these poor wretches at a time, in honor, as they pretended, of the thirteen apostles. I have also seen them," continues he, "throw young children to dogs to be devoured alive."

A cacique of the island of Cuba, named Hatacu, who was condemned to be burned for not having brought in a sufficient quantity of gold, was delivered over to a Franciscan friar before he was carried to execution, who endeavored to prevail on him to die in the Christian faith, and promised him heaven as a reward. "And do the Spaniards go to heaven too?" hastily demanded the cacique. "Doubtless," replied the monk. "Oh then," rejoined he, "do not let me go there." A cacique of New Granada, which lies between Peru and Mexico, was publicly burned for failing in a promise he had made to one of their captains, to fill his room with gold.

Thousands of these Americans were made use of by the Spaniards as beasts of burden, who knocked them on the head when they could travel no farther. In short, this bishop, who was eye-witness to all these barbarities, declares that in the islands and on the

mainland above twelve millions of Americans had been put to death by this inconsiderable number of Spaniards. "And as an excuse for this," says he, "you allege that they deserve death for being guilty of sacrificing human victims; and you instance the temple of Mexico, in which you say that they had sacrificed above twenty thousand prisoners. Now I take heaven and earth to witness, that the Mexicans, in the utmost use they made of this barbarous right of war, never put one hundred and fifty men to death in that temple."

From the several passages I have here quoted, it follows, that in all probability the Spaniards had greatly exaggerated the depraved customs of the Mexicans; and that the bishop of Chiapa has sometimes exceeded in his complaints of his countrymen. But the representations of this humane prelate had their due effect. The orders sent over from Europe have somewhat alleviated the hard fate of the Americans, who are now only considered as subjects, and not treated like slaves.

CHAPTER CXXVI.

THE FIRST VOYAGE ROUND THE WORLD.

This mixture of greatness and cruelty fills us with surprise and indignation. The glorious actions of the conquerors of America are sullied with too many horrors; but the fame of Columbus appears pure and unstained. Similar to his was the reputation of

Magalhaens, or Magellan, as he is commonly called, who undertook the tour of the globe by sea; and of Sebastian Cabot, who was the first who completed this amazing voyage, which is now no longer regarded as anything wonderful.

It was in 1519, at the beginning of the Spanish conquests in America, and in the midst of the great successes of the Portuguese in Asia and Africa, that Magellan discovered the straits which bear his name. He was the first who entered the South Seas, and sailing from west to east, found the Mariana Islands, and one of the Philippine Islands, where he lost his life. This Magellan was a Portuguese by birth; and having been denied an increase of six crowns in his pay, he was so incensed at this refusal that he determined to enter into the Spanish service, and endeavor to discover a passage along the coast of America, which might open a way for sharing part of the Portuguese possessions in Asia. Accordingly, his companions after his death settled themselves in Tidore, the chief of the Molucca Islands, which produces the most valuable spices.

The Portuguese were astonished when they found the Spaniards there, and could not comprehend how they had come thither through the eastern seas, when their own ships had no other way of coming from Portugal but by the western ocean. They never suspected that the Spaniards had made the tour of one part of the globe. It now required a new system of geography to settle the differences

between the Spaniards and the Portuguese, and make an improvement on the decree which had been passed by the court of Rome with relation to the pretensions of the nations, and the limits of their respective discoveries.

It is necessary to understand that when the famous Prince Henry of Portugal first began to enlarge the bounds of the universe for the Europeans, the Portuguese demanded from the popes a grant for the possession of all those countries they should discover. It had been a custom to ask the possession of kingdoms from the see of Rome, ever since Pope Gregory VII. had first assumed the right of bestowing them; and this was thought necessary, in order to guard against any foreign encroachments, by making the Church a party concerned in all new settlements. Accordingly several popes had confirmed the Portuguese in the rights which they had acquired, and of which the pontiffs were not able to deprive them.

When the Spaniards began to settle themselves in America, Pope Adrian VI. divided the newly discovered worlds of Asia and America into two parts: all that lay to the eastward of the Azores was to belong to the Portuguese, and the Spaniards were to have all to the westward: a line was then drawn upon the globe, which fixed the limits of their respective claims, and this was called the line of partition. But this voyage of Magellan's had occasioned a confusion in the pope's line, as the Mariana, Philip-

pine, and Molucca islands were found to be to the eastward of the Portuguese discoveries. It was necessary, therefore, to trace a new line, which was called the line of departition.

All these lines were again broken through when the Portuguese landed in the Brazils, and were no longer respected by the French or English, who formed settlements in North America. It is true that they had only the gleanings after the rich harvests reaped by the Spaniards; but they have since formed very considerable settlements there.

The fatal consequences of all these discoveries and transplantations have been that our trading nations have gone to war in America and Asia whenever they have had any disputes in Europe, by which means they have mutually destroyed their rising colonies. The first voyages were undertaken with a view to unite all nations; the latter ones have been made only to destroy us in the farthest extremities of the globe.

It is difficult to determine if Europe has been a gainer by its settlements in America. It is certain that the Spaniards drew immense riches from there, but then Spain was depopulated; and these treasures being divided at last among all the other nations of Europe, restored that equality which they had before destroyed. The price of commodities has been everywhere raised, so that in fact no side has been really the gainer. It remains, therefore, to know, whether the cochineal and Peruvian bark are

of sufficient value to compensate for the loss of so many lives.

CHAPTER CXXVII.

ASIA AT THE TIME OF THE DISCOVERIES MADE BY THE PORTUGUESE — CHINA.

WHILE Spain was enjoying her acquisitions in America; while the Portuguese reigned masters on the coast of Africa and Asia; while the trade of Europe put on so new a face, and the great revolution in the Christian religion made a change in the interests of so many kings, let us take a view of the state of the rest of the old world at that time.

At the end of the thirteenth century we left the race of Genghis Khan in possession of the sovereignties of China, India, and Persia, and the Tartars carrying destruction into the heart of Poland and Hungary. The branch of this victorious family which reigned in China was called Yuen. We find no resemblance in this name with that of Ogdai, or Kublai Khan, his brother, whose race continued on the throne for one whole century. These conquerors, when they took a Chinese name, adopted the manners of the Chinese. All usurpers are desirous of preserving by law what they have acquired by force. Were it not for this natural inclination which everyone has to enjoy in peace what he has acquired by depredations, there would be no society in the world. The Tartars found the laws of the people they had con-

quered so excellent that they voluntarily submitted to them as the surest means of establishing their authority. Among other laws they were particularly careful to preserve that which ordains that no person shall be a governor or judge in the province where he was born; a most admirable regulation, and which particularly suited the conquerors.

That ancient principle in morality and politics which makes parents regarded by their children, and the emperor considered as the common father of his people, soon brought the Chinese to pay a voluntary obedience to their new rulers; and the second generation forgot how the blood of the first had been shed. There were nine successive emperors of the same Tartar race, without any mention being made in the Chinese annals of the least endeavor to expel these strangers. One of the great-grandsons of Genghis Khan was assassinated in his palace: but it was by a Tartar; and his son succeeded him on the throne without the least disturbance.

At length, what had proved the ruin of the caliphs, and had formerly deprived the kings of Persia and Assyria of their crowns, occasioned the downfall of these conquerors. They sank into effeminacy. The ninth emperor of the race of Genghis Khan having given himself up to the women and lamas, by whom he was surrounded, and who governed him by turns, fell into universal contempt, and the people reassumed their native courage. The bonzes, who were enemies to the lamas, began the revolution. A bold

adventurer, who had formerly been a servant in one of the convents belonging to the bonzes, having put himself at the head of a band of freebooters, was by them declared chief of those whom the court called the rebels. We meet with twenty examples of this kind in the Roman and Greek empires, especially the latter. The world is a vast theatre, where the same tragedy is frequently acted under different names.

This adventurer drove the Tartar race from the throne in 1357, and began the twenty-first family, or dynasty of Chinese emperors, called Ming. This dynasty reigned two hundred and seventy-six years; but at length it fell beneath the descendants of those very Tartars which it had expelled from the throne. It has always necessarily happened that the most learned, rich, and civilized nations have, in the course of time, been obliged almost everywhere to yield to a savage, poor, and hardy people. Artillery alone, since it has been carried to perfection, has at length been able to put the weak upon a footing with the strong. We have already observed that the Chinese were not acquainted with the use of cannon, notwithstanding that gunpowder had been so long known among them.

The restorer of the Chinese Empire took the name of Hung-woo, a name which he afterward rendered famous by the power of his arms, and the wisdom of his laws. The first thing he did was to suppress the power of the bonzes, whom he knew the better, as

they had assisted him in mounting the throne. He ordered that no Chinese should take upon him the profession of a bonze till he was forty years old, and made the same regulation with regard to the female bonzes. The same has been done in our time by Czar Peter the Great in Russia: but that invincible love which everyone bears to his profession, and that spirit which animates all large bodies, has made the Chinese bonzes and the Russian monks triumph over this wise law; it has ever been much easier in all countries to suppress a bad custom entirely than to keep it within bounds.

Hung-woo, this second founder of China, seems to have considered propagation as the first of all duties; for at the same time that he lessened the number of bonzes, the greater part of whom led a single life, he took care to exclude eunuchs from all employments in the state, who before were wont to govern the royal palace, and who by their examples had enervated the nation.

Though the race of Genghis Khan had been driven out of China, yet those ancient conquerors still continued to be very formidable. A Chinese emperor named Ching-Tung was made prisoner by them, and carried into Tartary, in the year 1444, where he was detained till the Chinese Empire paid an immense sum for his ransom. The prince, though restored to his liberty, did not recover his crown, but waited peaceably for the death of his brother, who reigned during his captivity, and then remounted the throne.

The internal peace of the kingdom was now established, and history mentions only one commotion, raised by a bonze, who endeavored to stir up the people to revolt, for which he lost his head.

There was no change in the religion of the emperor and the learned men: it was only forbidden to pay the same honors to Confucius as were paid to the memory of the kings: a shameful prohibition, because no one king had ever done the country so much service as Confucius; but at the same time it serves to show that Confucius was never worshipped in China, and that idolatry has no part in the ceremonies with which the Chinese honor the names of their ancestors and great men.

A strange notion prevailed at that time among the Chinese. They thought that there was a secret for making men immortal. The mountebanks, who resembled our alchemists, boasted of their power of composing a certain liquor which they called "the drink of immortality." This gave rise to a thousand fables which spread all over Asia, and which have been mistaken for history. It is pretended that several of the Chinese emperors expended immense sums upon this recipe; which is just as true as if the Asiatics were to believe that our kings in Europe have seriously sought after the fountain of youth, which is as famous in our old French romances as the drink of immortality in the eastern tales.

Under the dynasty of Yuen, that is to say, the posterity of Genghis Khan, and under that of the

restorer of the ancient empire called Ming, the arts of genius and invention were particularly cultivated; and yet we find in their little romances the plan which is so pleasing to all nations; unforeseen calamities, unexpected good fortune, and surprising discoveries. They have but little of that incredible marvellous which is found in the metamorphoses invented by the Greeks, and embellished by Ovid, in the "Arabian Tales," and the fables of Bayardo and Ariosto. The invention of the Chinese fables seldom departs from probability, and always tends to the inculcating of sound morality.

A passion for theatrical exhibitions became very prevalent among the Chinese after the fourteenth century, and still continues to be so. They cannot have received this art from any other nation. They were ignorant that such a kingdom as Greece had ever existed; and neither the Mahometans nor the Tartars could have communicated any of the works of the Greeks to them. They therefore must have invented the art, such as they have it, themselves; but from a Chinese tragedy, which has been lately translated, we may perceive that they have not carried this art to any great perfection. This tragedy, which is entitled "The Orphan of Tchao," was written in the fourteenth century, and is given us as one of their very best. It is true, that the drama was at that time still more rude with us in Europe, where the art itself was hardly known. But it is our character to improve and carry to perfection, and

that of the Chinese to remain at a certain point. Perhaps this tragedy may be in the taste of some of the first trials made by Æschylus. The Chinese, who have always been the foremost in ethics, have made but little progress in the other sciences; doubtless because nature, who has given them wisdom and rectitude of mind, has denied them the gift of superior genius.

In general they write as they paint, without knowing the secret of the art. Their pictures are void of proportion, perspective, or chiaroscuro; and their writings betray an equal poverty of invention. But in all their productions there seems to reign a prudent mediocrity and unaffected truth, which does not in the least resemble the bombastic style so common with other Oriental writers. In their treatises of morality you meet with no extravagant similes nor far-fetched metaphors. They never speak in riddles, and in this respect they differ from all the rest of the Asiatics. It is not long since you read the reflections of a wise Chinese on the method of acquiring the small portion of happiness of which man's nature is susceptible. You must have remarked that these reflections are exactly the same as those we find in most of our books. The theory of physic is still with them all darkness and error: and yet the Chinese physicians are fairly successful in their practice. Nature has not suffered the lives of men to depend altogether upon the perfect knowledge of this art. The Greeks knew how to bleed on proper occa-

sions, though they understood nothing of the circulation of the blood. Experience and good medicines have established the practice of physic all over the world; it is at best but a conjectural art, which sometimes assists nature, and sometimes destroys her.

In general, a spirit of decency and moderation, a taste for the sciences, and the cultivation of the necessary arts, together with a great fertility of invention, which renders the attainment of these arts more easy, composed the Chinese wisdom. By this wisdom they civilized their Tartarian conquerors, and incorporated them with themselves. This is an advantage which the Greeks could never gain over the Turks. In short, the Chinese drove their masters out of the kingdom, whereas the Greeks never once entertained a thought of throwing off the yoke of their conquerors.

When we speak of the wisdom which for more than four thousand years distinguished the constitution of China, we do not mean to include the populace, as they are in all countries destined wholly to the purposes of labor. The spirit of a nation resides in the few who set the multitude to work, and who support and govern them. Certainly this spirit in the Chinese nation is the most ancient monument of reason in the world.

This government, excellent as it was, could not avoid being infected with many errors, which are inseparable from human institutions, especially in a

great empire. The principal of these was the custom of poor people exposing their children at their birth, in hopes of their being taken up by the rich. By this inhuman practice the state lost many subjects; but the vast number of people in China prevented the government from perceiving this loss. Men were considered by them like the fruits of trees, which are suffered to fall to the ground, and perish unheeded, so long as a sufficient quantity remains behind for use. The Tartarian conquerors might have provided for these abandoned children, and have sent them to people colonies in the deserts of Tartary; but this escaped their attention; and in our western parts, where the human species stood so much in need of being recruited, we had not at that time hit upon any expedient to remedy this evil, though so evidently detrimental to us. It is only of late years that there has been a hospital in London for the relief and maintenance of deserted children. Human society takes a long time in coming to perfection.

CHAPTER CXXVIII.

THE TARTARS.

As the Chinese, though twice subdued, first by Genghis Khan, in the thirteenth century, and again in the seventeenth, still continued the principal people of Asia, with regard to arts and laws, so did the Tartars in arms.

It is a mortifying consideration to human nature, that strength has always prevailed over wisdom, and that almost all our hemisphere, as far as Mount Atlas, has been subdued by barbarians. The Roman Empire was destroyed by them in the fifth century; and they conquered Spain, with all that the Romans were possessed of in Africa. We have seen them afterward subjecting the Babylonian caliphs.

Mahmoud, who toward the end of the tenth century conquered Persia and India, was a Tartar. He is hardly known at present to the nations of the West, but by the reproof he received from a poor woman who applied to him, when in India, for justice on certain robbers who had stripped and murdered her son, in the province of Irac in Persia. "How would you have me do you justice at such a distance?" said the sultan. "To what end then did you conquer," replied the mother, "if you are not able to govern us?"

It was from the farther end of Tartary that Genghis Khan set out at the end of the twelfth century on his conquest of India, China, Persia, and Russia. Batou Khan, one of his sons, carried his incursions as far as the frontiers of Germany. At present the vast empire, which was the portion of this Batou Khan, is reduced to the single province of Crimea, which is held by his descendants under the protection of the Turks.

Tamerlane, who subdued so large a part of Asia,

was also a Tartar, and even a descendant of the family of Genghis Khan.

Ussum Cassan, who reigned in Persia, was also a native of Tartary.

In short, if you look into the origin of the Ottoman power, you will find that these people set out from the eastern borders of the Caspian Sea, and spread their conquests over Asia Minor, Arabia, Egypt, Constantinople, and Greece.

Let us now see what remained in the vast deserts of Tartary in the sixteenth century, after it had sent forth so many conquerors. To the northward of China were those same Mogul and Manchoo Tartars, who conquered it under Genghis, and who reduced it again about a century ago. They were at that time of the religion which has the Dalai Lama for its head in Lesser Thibet. Their deserts bordered on those of Russia. From there to the Caspian Sea, the country was inhabited by the Elhuts, Calcats, Kalmucks, and a hundred other tribes of wandering Tartars. The Usbegs were, and still are settled in the country of Samarkand. They are all very poor, and only known from the fact that their country sent forth those emigrations, who conquered the richest countries of the globe.

CHAPTER CXXIX.

THE MOGUL.

THE race of Tamerlane reigned in Mogulstan. This kingdom of India had not been entirely subdued by Tamerlane. His children made war upon one another for the division of his dominions, as the successors of Alexander had done, and by their disputes made all India unhappy. This country, where the nature of the climate inspires weakness and effeminacy, was unable to make head against the posterity of its conquerors. Sultan Babar, great-grandson of Tamerlane, made himself absolute master of all the country from Samarkand as far as Agra.

There were at that time four principal nations established in India: the Mahometan Arabs, named Patanes, who had been in possession of several territories ever since the tenth century; the ancient Parsis or Guebers, who had taken refuge there in the time of Omar; the Tartars of Genghis Khan and Tamerlane; and lastly the native Indians, who were divided into several castes or tribes.

The Patanes, or Mahometan Arabs, were always the most powerful of these nations, since in the year 1120, we find that a Mussulman, named Chircha, dispossessed Sultan Humayun, son of Babar, and obliged him to take shelter in Persia. Solyman, the natural enemy of the Persians, protected the Mahometan usurper against the offspring of the Tartarian usurpers, who were assisted by the Persians. This

Solyman at that time held the balance of power in India, and as long as he lived, Chircha reigned without interruption. It was he who made Mahometanism the prevailing religion in the Mogul Empire. There are still remaining several noble roads lined with trees on each side, and caravansaries and baths, which were erected by him for the convenience of travellers.

Humayun could not get footing in India till after the deaths of Solyman and Chircha, when he was reinstated on his throne by an army of Persians. Thus have the Indians been always subdued by foreigners.

The petty kingdom of Gujrat, near Surat, still continued subject to the ancient Indian Arabs, and was almost all that these conquerors retained of the many kingdoms they had subdued, from Persia to the southern provinces of France. They were now obliged to implore the assistance of the Portuguese against Akbar, the son of Humayun; but the Portuguese could not prevent their fall.

There was also in Agra a prince who called himself a descendant of that Por, whom Quintus Curtius has rendered so famous under the name of Porus. This prince was subdued by Akbar, who would not afterward restore him his kingdom. But he did more good in India than Alexander had time to do: he was the contriver of several immense undertakings; and we to this day admire the great road, planted on each side with trees, and reaching the

length of one hundred and fifty leagues, from Agra to Lahore, which was the work of this conqueror, and was afterward embellished by his son Jahangin.

The Indus peninsula, on this side the Ganges, was then in a manner unknown, or if any part of it had been conquered, it was by the Portuguese. The viceroy of this nation, who resided at Goa, equalled the mogul himself in magnificence and luxury, and far surpassed him in the strength of his maritime forces. He had the disposal of five governments — namely, Mozambique, Malacca, Mascata, Ormuz, and Ceylon. The Portuguese were masters of the vast trade of Surat, and the great mogul's people came every year to purchase from them valuable commodities. America itself, for the forty years it belonged to the Spaniards had not brought them in more riches; and when Philip II. made himself master of Portugal, in 1580, he found himself in an instant master of the chief riches of both worlds, without having himself had any part in their discovery. The grand mogul was not at that time to compare in riches and grandeur with the Spanish monarch.

We are not so well acquainted with this empire as with that of China, on account of the frequent revolutions it has undergone since Tamerlane's time, and because those who have been sent to make observations there have not been so accurate as those who first transmitted to us an account of China.

The accounts we have had of India are full of con-

tradictions. Father Catrou tells us: "The mogul keeps to himself the sole property of all the lands in the empire;" and in the same page he says: "The children of the rajas, or chief princes of the country, succeed to their father's lands." In one place he affirms: "All the grandees are slaves," and in another he says, "Several of these slaves have between twenty and thirty thousand soldiers under their command;" "The mogul's will is the only law of the empire;" and yet, "no encroachment has been made upon the rights of the people." It is difficult to reconcile these notions.

Tavernier writes more for the merchant than the philosopher; for he gives instructions only for finding the high road, and purchasing diamonds.

Bernier is a philosopher; but he does not employ his philosophy in making himself acquainted with the basis of the government. He says, like other writers, that all the lands belong to the emperor. This wants an explanation; to bestow lands and to possess them are two things absolutely different. The kings of Europe bestow church-livings, but they do not enjoy them; and though the emperor of Germany had a right of conferring all fiefs in Germany and Italy, which become vacant in default of heirs, he does not receive the profits arising from those lands.

Bernier never imagined that people could so far mistake his expressions, as to think that all the inhabitants of India labored, sowed, built, and

worked for one single Tartar. Besides, this Tartar, though absolute over the subjects of his own demesnes, has very little authority over the viceroys, who are frequently powerful enough to dispute his commands.

"In India," says Bernier, "there are only princes and slaves." How are we to reconcile this with the opulence of some of their merchants, who, we are told by Tavernier, are worth several millions?

Be that as it may, the Indians were no longer that superior people among whom the ancient Greeks travelled in search of knowledge. Nothing remained of all their former superiority but superstition, which grew stronger as they were more subjected; as was the case with the Egyptians after they were conquered by the Romans.

The waters of the Ganges had in all times been famous for their supposed virtue of purifying souls. The ancient custom of plunging into that river at the instant of eclipse cannot yet be abolished; and though several of the Indian astronomers knew how to calculate these phenomena, the people could not be persuaded but that the sun at that time was in the claws of a great dragon, from which there was no way of delivering it, but by plunging themselves quite naked into the water, and making a loud noise, which frightened the dragon, and made him loose his hold.

The school of the old Gymnosophists was still preserved in the great city of Benares, on the borders

of the Ganges. Here the Brahmins cultivated the holy language called Sanskrit, which is looked upon as the most ancient in the East. They hold the belief of Genii, like the first Persians; they teach their disciples that the design of idols is only to fix the attention of the common people, and that they are no more than different emblems of the one God; but they carefully conceal this wise doctrine from the vulgar, to whom it could be of no service, and suffer them to continue in errors which are beneficial to them.

It would seem that the heat of the southern climates disposed men more to superstition and enthusiasm than elsewhere. Numbers of the bigoted Indians have been known to throw themselves under the chariot wheels of their idol, Juggernaut, to have their bodies crushed, out of devotion. The superstition of the people easily reconciled every kind of contradiction; at the same time that the priests of Juggernaut were wont every year to conduct a beautiful virgin to the temple of their god, to be honored with the title of his wife, as the Egyptians formerly presented one to their god, Anubis [1]; they led young

[1] The god Anubis of the Egyptians was supposed to be the same as the Mercury of other nations, hence Eusebius calls him Hermanubis. He was exhibited with a dog's head as an emblem of vigilance; and in the city of Cynapolis, consecrated to this divinity, sacred dogs were maintained. Anubis was held in such veneration among the Romans that his worship was allowed in Rome, and the emperors, as well as private persons, often appeared in the disguise of this

widows to the funeral pile, who went singing and dancing to throw themselves into the flames with the bodies of their dead husbands.

We are told, that in the year 1642, one of the rajas having been assassinated in the court of Cha-gehan, thirteen of his wives threw themselves alive upon their lord's funeral-pile. Numerous facts of this nature convince us that this custom was in full force in the mogul's empire, as it still is throughout the whole peninsula, as far as Cape Comorin. It may seem surprising that this sex, by nature so timid, should be capable of such desperate resolution; but superstition gives a supernatural degree of strength to all ranks.

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deity. In an ancient medal of Marcus Aurelius and Faustina, the emperor is represented under the form of Anubis, and Faustina in the character of Isis. The following story is recorded by Tacitus: Mundus, a Roman patrician, being passionately enamored of Paulina, the wife of Saturninus, and being rejected in his addresses to that matron, resolved to make away with himself, but was diverted from this resolution by his freedman, who undertook to satisfy his desire. For this purpose he bribed some of the priests of Isis to declare to Paulina that she was a favorite of the god Anubis, who desired to possess her person. Proud of this honored distinction, she communicated the intimation to her husband, and, with his consent, passed the night in the temple with the pretended Anubis. In the sequel, when Mundus disclosed the secret to her, she, in despair, conjured her husband to avenge the injury. He preferred a complaint to the emperor Tiberius, who, after due inquiry, ordered the corrupted priests to be crucified, the temple to be demolished, and the statues of Isis and Anubis to be thrown into the Tiber.

CHAPTER CXXX.

PERSIA AND ITS REVOLUTIONS, IN THE SIXTEENTH CENTURY — ITS CUSTOMS, MANNERS, ETC.

PERSIA about this time experienced a revolution nearly of the same kind as that which the change of religion had occasioned in Europe.

A Persian, named Haidar,[1] who is known to us only by the title of "Sufi," that is to say, "the Wise," and who, besides his wisdom, possessed considerable territory, toward the end of the fifteenth century founded the sect by which the Persians are at present separated from the Turks.

During the reign of the Tartar Ussum Hassan, a part of Persia, pleased with an opportunity of opposing a new worship to that of the Turks, of setting

[1] Haidar in Arabic signifies a lion, and was one of the surnames or titles of Ali. This Haidar, of whom our author speaks, was, or pretended to be, descended from Ali, by the branch of his second son, Houssain, which, according to the Persians, is of the branch of the Imans. Haidar's mother was daughter of Usum Hassan, the first sultan of the dynasty of the Turcomans, called Brandurcans, or of the white sheep. By this sultan, Haidar was supplied with forces to attack Feroxhzad, king of Schirvan, who had defeated and slain his father, Gruncid, in battle; but in attempting to avenge the death of a parent, he lost his own life, and the greater part of his numerous family was cut off: nevertheless, Ismail, one of his sons, escaped, and afterward, under the name of Sophi, founded the dynasty and reigning house in Persia.

up Ali [1] above Omar,[2] and of having another place besides Mecca to go to upon pilgrimages, greedily embraced the Sufi's doctrine, the seeds of which

[1] Ali, the son of Abou Thaleb, was the relative, son-in-law, and favorite of Mahomet, whom he likewise succeeded as the fourth caliph. It is very remarkable that although his name is now at the head of a very numerous sect, there was nothing which he himself so much condemned as a schism from the established religion of Islamism. The following is one of his maxims, which we find in d'Herbelot: "Take heed you never separate from the communion of the other Mussulmans; for he who separates from it, belongs to the devil, as a sheep that quits the flock belongs to the wolf; give no quarter, therefore, to him who marches under the standard of schism, even should he be covered with my turban, for he bears the infallible marks of perdition." By the bye, the sectaries of Ali not only wear a turban of a particular form, but their hair is dressed in a different manner from that of the other Mahometans. These sectaries believe that Ali was the first who embraced Mussulmanism, and even professed it while yet in his mother's belly: they go so far as to say he hindered her during her whole pregnancy from worshipping and prostrating herself before her idol. They never mention Ali but with this benediction: "God make his fate glorious." They affirm that the prophet, speaking of Ali, declared: "Ali is for me, and I am for him. He bears the same rank with me as Aaron did with Moses. I am the city in which all science is locked up, and Ali is the key."

[2] Omar Ben Alkhétab succeeded Abubeker as second caliph of the Mussulmans, and was remarkable for his justice, humility, piety, and liberality. During his caliphate the Arabians subdued Syria, Chaldæa, Mesopotamia, Persia, and Egypt. They reduced thirty-six thousand towns or castles, destroyed four thousand churches or temples of Christians or heathens, and built fourteen hundred mosques for the exercise of their own religion.

had been sown for some time, which he now fully improved, and gave a form to that political and religious schism, which at present appears so necessary between two great neighboring nations who are jealous of each other. Neither the Turks nor the Persians had any reason to acknowledge Omar or Ali, as the lawful successor of Mahomet. The rights of those Arabians, whom they had driven from among them, could not affect them in any manner; but the Persians thought it concerned them not to have the seat of their religion fixed with Turks.

The Sufi then published his tenets, for the interest of Persia, but at the same time he had an eye to his own, and soon became so powerful that Shah Rustam, the usurper of Persia, began to stand in fear of him. At length this reformer met that fate which Luther and Calvin escaped: he was assassinated by Rustam's orders, in 1499.

Ismail, the son of this Sufi, had courage and power sufficient to maintain his father's opinion by force of arms; and his disciples became soldiers.

He converted and conquered the kingdom of Armenia, which was so famous in the time of Tigranes, though of so little consideration at present, and in which hardly the ruins of the great city of Tigranocerta are now to be seen. The country is poor; and here are great numbers of Greek Christians, who live by the traffic they carry on in Persia and other places of Asia; but we are not to give credit to those tales which tell us that this province

sustains one million five hundred thousand Christian families, which, together with the other inhabitants, would make between five and six millions of souls; whereas there is not one-third of the number in the whole country. Ismail, after having made himself master of Armenia, subdued all Persia, and pushed his conquests as far as the country of the Samarkand Tartars. He fought a battle against the Turkish sultan, Selim I., in which he gained the advantage; and when he died, left his son Thamasp in the quiet possession of the powerful empire of Persia.

It was this same Thamasp who at length repulsed Solyman, after having nearly lost his crown. His descendants continued to reign quietly in Persia, till the revolutions which have of late years laid waste that empire.

Toward the end of the sixteenth century, and under the reign of the renowned Shah Abbas, great-grandson of Ismail, Persia became one of the most flourishing and happy countries in the world. All places have had a time of glory and splendor, after which they have fallen into decay.

The customs, manners, and spirit of the Persian nation appear as strange to us as those of almost any people we have yet noticed. Chardin, the traveller, says that the emperor of Persia is not so absolute as the emperor of the Turks; but the Sufi does not appear to be in the power of a militia, which the grand seignior undoubtedly is. Chardin, however, admits that the lands in Persia are not all in the

hands of one man; that the subjects enjoy the possessions that belong to them, and pay only a moderate tax to the state, not exceeding the value of a crown a year. There are neither great nor small feudal tenures, as there are in India and Turkey, which were conquered by the Tartars. Ismail, the restorer of this empire, who was not a Tartar, but an Armenian, followed the natural law established in his country, and not that of conquest and plunder.

The seraglio of Ispahan was likewise generally esteemed less cruel than that of Constantinople. A jealousy of state had frequently led the Turkish sultans to strangle their nearest relatives. The Sufis only deprived the princes of the blood of their sight. In China it was never considered necessary for the security of the throne, to deprive the brothers or cousins of the reigning prince of their life or sight; they were always suffered to enjoy dignities, though without authority; all which proves that the Chinese were infinitely more prudent and humane in their manners than any of the other orientals.

The kings of Persia have preserved the custom of receiving presents from their subjects. This is an established practice in Turkey and the mogul's empire. It was so formerly in Poland, which indeed was the only kingdom where it seemed to be reasonable; for the kings of Poland, having but a very small revenue, stood in need of such helps. But the grand mogul and grand seignior, especially the latter, who were masters of immense treasures, should

never show themselves without bestowing gifts. It is debasing their dignity to accept them, and yet upon this very debasement they found their title of grandeur. The emperors of China never thus disgraced their dignity. Chardin pretends that the gifts made the king of Persia by his subjects were worth between five and six millions of our money.

Persia has always had this in common with China and Turkey; it admits of no nobility. There is no nobility in all these vast dominions but what is conferred by employments; and men who are nothing themselves cannot there derive any advantage from what their ancestors have been.

In Persia, as well as throughout all Asia, justice has always been administered in the most expeditious manner. Lawyers and lawsuits are not known there; everyone pleads his own cause; and the maxim that a short injustice is more supportable than a tedious and intricate justice has ever prevailed with these people, who were civilized long before us, and have experienced less refinements of all kinds than we have done.

The Mahometanism of Ali was the established religion of Persia, but it permitted the free exercise of all others. There were still in Ispahan a few remains of the ancient Persian fire-worshippers, who were not driven from that kingdom till the reign of Abbas. This sect was scattered over all the frontiers, and particularly in ancient Assyria, a district of Upper Armenia, where their high priest still

resides. There were also several families of the ten tribes and a half of Samaritan Jews, which had been transported thither by Shalmaneser in the time of Hosea; and at the period of which I am now speaking, there were nearly ten thousand families of the tribes of Judah, Levi, and Benjamin, who had been brought thither from Jerusalem with their king Zedekiah, by Nebuchadnezzar, and had not returned with Ezra and Nehemiah.

About the Persian Gulf there were several Sabeans, disciples of John the Baptist, of whom I have already spoken. The Armenian Christians, who adhered to the Greek Church, were the most numerous of these sects, and the Nestorians the least. Ispahan was filled with Indians of the Brahmin religion; they were computed at no less than twenty thousand. The greater part of these were Banians, who carry on a traffic with twenty different nations from Cape Comorin to the Caspian Sea, without intermixing with any one of them.

In short, all religions were well looked upon in Persia, except the sect of Omar, as that was the religion of their enemies. In like manner the English government, which it permits every sect to establish itself with impunity, can hardly be prevailed upon to tolerate the Roman Catholic religion, because it stands in fear of its power.

The Persian Empire was justly apprehensive of that of the Turks, which was greatly superior to it in numbers and extent of country. The soil of Persia

is not so fruitful as that of Turkey; and it has not, like that empire, the advantage of the sea. The Persians were not then in possession of the port of Ormus, the Portuguese having made themselves masters of it in the year 1507. An inconsiderable European people lorded it in the Persian Gulf, and excluded that nation from all commerce by sea. The great Shah Abbas, powerful as he was, was obliged to have recourse to the English to eject the Portuguese, in 1622. The Europeans, by their numerous fleets, have been always masters of the fate of those coasts where they have landed.

Though the soil of Persia is not so fertile as that of Turkey, its natives are more industrious; they cultivate the sciences more, but what they call the sciences do not merit that name with us.

As the European missionaries filled all China with amazement even by the little knowledge they possessed of natural philosophy and the mathematics, they would doubtless no less have surprised the Persians. Their language is very beautiful, and has undergone no alteration for these six hundred years past. Their poetry is sublime, and their fables ingenious. But though they know a little more of geometry than the Chinese, yet they carried it not much beyond the elements of Euclid. They were acquainted with no other astronomical system than that of Ptolemy, which is still used by them, as it was for a long time in Europe, only as the means of attaining to judicial astrology. Everything with the

Persians was governed by the influence of the stars, as with the ancient Romans by the flight of birds, and the feeding of the sacred fowls. Chardin pretends that in his time the state expended four millions yearly upon astrologers. Had a Newton, a Halley, or a Cassini been born in Persia, he would have been neglected unless he had pretended to foretell futurity.

Their medicinal knowledge was like that of all unlearned nations, a practice built upon experiments reduced to rules, without any knowledge of anatomy. This, like the other sciences, had fallen to decay; but they were all revived again in the beginning of the sixteenth century, by the discoveries of Vesalius,[1] and the penetrating genius of Fernel.[2]

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[1] Andrew Vesalius was born at Brussels in 1512. He was educated at Louvain and studied medicine at Paris, under the celebrated Jacobus Sylvius. He applied himself particularly to the study of anatomy, and was public demonstrator in the university of that city; at the age of eighteen he published his book, entitled *"De Humani Corporis Fabrica."* He taught anatomy at Louvain, Bologna, Pisa, and was honored with a professor's chair in the university of Padua. The emperor Charles V. appointed him his physician, and the same honorable office he retained under Philip II. But, tired of a court life, or being enjoined a pilgrimage to Jerusalem, by way of penance for having opened a Spanish gentleman before he was quite dead, he repaired to Palestine, on his return from which he was shipwrecked on the island of Zante, where he miserably perished by hunger. He was certainly an expert anatomist, and author of many excellent treatises on that subject; of which an edition was published at Leyden in 1725, by the celebrated Boerhaave,

In short, of whatever civilized people of Asia we make mention, we may say this — they have gone before us, and we have surpassed them.

CHAPTER CXXXI.

THE OTTOMAN EMPIRE IN THE SIXTEENTH CENTURY —ITS CUSTOMS, GOVERNMENT, AND REVENUES.

THE power and progress of the Ottoman emperors was of longer duration than that of the Sufis; for after the reign of Amurath II. there was one continued chain of victories.

Mahomet II. had conquered a number of dominions that might have made his successors contented with such an inheritance: but Selim I. added fresh conquests to these. In 1515, he subdued Syria and Mesopotamia, and undertook the reduction of Egypt.

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entitled *"Andreæ Vesalii Opera Omnia Anatomica et Chirurgica."*

[2] John Francis Fernel, or Fernelius, flourished in the sixteenth century, and was first physician to Henry II., king of France. He was a complete scholar, and wrote Latin with great purity. He was not only in great esteem in France, but held in great veneration by foreigners. Joannes Imperiali says the writings of Fernelius display the eloquence of Cicero and the learning of Hippocrates. Patina, professor of medicine in the royal college of Paris, declared that he would think it a much greater honor to be descended from Fernelius than to be king of Scotland or kinsman to the grand seignior. His treatises on medicine are at present little read, though still admired for the Latinity. He died at the age of fifty-two, in 1515, and left a very considerable fortune, accumulated in the course of his practice.

This enterprise would have been attended with very little difficulty, had he had only Egyptians to fight against; but Egypt was governed and defended by a formidable foreign militia, like that of the janissaries. These were Circassians, who also came out of Tartary: they were known by the name of Mamelukes, which signifies slaves; either because the first sultan of Egypt, who employed them, had purchased them as slaves, or because it was a name which attached them more closely to the person of the prince, which indeed seems the most probable conjecture. In fact, the figurative manner of speaking used by all the Orientals has introduced the most ridiculously pompous titles for their sovereigns, and the most abject appellations for their servants. The grand seignior's pashas call themselves his slaves; and, in our time, Nadir Shah, who imprisoned his master, Thamasp, and put out his eyes, only called himself his slave, as the word "kouli" testifies.

These Mamelukes had been the masters of Egypt ever since the last Crusades. They were conquered and made prisoners by St. Louis; since which they had established a government nearly resembling that of Algiers. A king, and twenty-four governors for the provinces, were chosen from among these soldiers. The vigor of this warlike race was not in the least impaired by the climate they lived in; and their numbers were kept up every year by the addition of other Circassians, who were called in to fill

up this body of conquerors. Egypt remained under this government for almost three hundred years.

Tumanbai was the last king of the Mamelukes; he is famous only for his misfortune in being taken prisoner by Selim; but he deserves to be yet further known by an incident which may appear strange to us, but was by no means so among the Orientals. Selim, after having defeated him, made him governor of the kingdom whose crown he had taken from him. Tumanbai, who, from a king, had become a pasha, had the fate of most pashas. He was strangled after having governed only a few months.

Solyman, the son of Selim, was always a formidable enemy, both to the Christians and Persians. In 1521 he took Rhodes, and in 1526 the greater part of Hungary. Moldavia and Wallachia became real fiefs of his empire. He laid siege to Vienna in 1529, but failing in this enterprise, he turned his arms against Persia; and meeting with better fortune on the Euphrates than on the Danube, he made himself master of the city of Bagdad, as did his father, from whom the Persians had afterward retaken it. He reduced Georgia, which is the ancient Iberia. In a word, he carried his victorious arms into all parts; for his admiral, Khair-ed-Deen Barbarossa, after having laid waste Apulia, sailed into the Red Sea, and took the kingdom of Yemen, which is rather a country of India than of Arabia. He resembled Charles V., to whom he was superior in military merit, by his continual journeys. He was the first

Ottoman emperor who had ever been in alliance with France, an alliance which has subsisted ever since. He died in Hungary, while he was laying siege to the town of Zigeth, but victory waited on him in his last moments; for the breath was scarcely departed from his body, when the town was taken by assault. His empire extended from Algiers to the Euphrates, and from the farther end of the Black Sea, to the extremity of Greece and Epirus.

In 1571 his successor took the island of Cyprus from the Venetians. How can all our historians pretend to tell us that he undertook this conquest only for the sake of drinking Malmsey wine, which is the produce of this island, and of giving the government of it to a Jew? Selim made himself master of it for convenience: the possession of Cyprus was necessary for those who were masters of Natolia; and no emperor ever would conquer a kingdom for the sake of a Jew, or a particular sort of wine. A Jew, named Mequinez, furnished some hints for making this conquest; and the vanquished mingled fables with this truth, of which the conquerors were entirely ignorant.

After having suffered the Turks to make themselves masters of the most beautiful countries of Europe, Asia, and Africa, we contributed to enrich them. Venice traded with them at the very time they were depriving her of the isle of Cyprus, and had ordered the senator Bragadino, governor of Famagosta, to be flayed alive. Genoa, Florence, and

Marseilles disputed for the trade of Constantinople; and these cities paid ready money for the silks and other commodities of Asia. The Christian merchants enriched themselves indeed by this trade, but it was at the expense of Christendom. Very few silks were bought in Italy, none in France. We have even been frequently obliged to buy corn from Constantinople; but, at length, industry has repaired these injuries which our country suffered from nature and negligence. The manufactures have made the trade of the Christians, especially of the French with Turkey, very advantageous; notwithstanding the opinion of Count Marsigli, who is not so well acquainted with this great article of the interest of nations, as the merchants of London and Marseilles.

The nations of Christendom trade with the Ottomans in the same manner as with all the rest of Asia. We go to these people, who never come to us in the West, which is an evident proof that we want them. The seaport towns of the Levant are filled with our ships and merchants. All the trading nations of Europe have consuls there. Most of them send ambassadors-in-ordinary to the Ottoman Porte, which never sends any to our courts. The Porte looks upon these perpetual ambassadors as a kind of homage which the Christians pay to her power. She has frequently offered insults to our ministers, which would have occasioned a war between any two Christian princes; but which it has been always thought

proper to put up with from the Ottoman Porte. King William III. of England was wont to say: "There is no point of honor to be insisted on with Turks." This may be the language of a merchant who wants to dispose of his goods, but it can never be that of a king, who is jealous of what the world calls honor.

The government of the Turkish Empire is as different from ours as their manners and religion. One part of the grand seignior's revenues consists in the productions of the several countries under his dominions, and not in coined specie, as in our Christian states. The canal of Constantinople is covered all the year with ships, which bring all the provisions necessary for the seraglio, the janissaries, and the fleet, from Egypt, Greece, Natolia, and the coast of the Pontus Euxinus. We find by the canon name, or registers of the empire, that the revenue of the treasury, till 1683, did not amount to above thirty-two thousand purses, which is not more than forty-six millions of our present currency.

This revenue would not be sufficient to keep on foot such large armies, and maintain such a number of officers. The pashas of every province have certain funds allotted out of the province itself, for maintaining the soldiers, which are furnished by the fiefs; but these funds are far from being large; those of the province of Asia Minor did not at most exceed one million two hundred thousand livres; that of Diarbekir was one hundred thousand; Aleppo was not more; and the fruitful country of Damas-

cus did not furnish its pasha with quite two hundred thousand francs; that of Erzerum gave about two hundred thousand. The whole country of Greece, which they call Romelia, gave its pasha one million two thousand livres. In a word, all these revenues with which the pashas and beglerbegs maintained the ordinary troops in 1683, did not amount to ten of our millions. Moldavia and Wallachia did not furnish two hundred thousand livres to their princes, for the maintenance of eight thousand soldiers in the service of the Ottoman Porte. The captain pasha did not raise over eight hundred thousand livres to maintain the fleet, from all the fiefs called zaims and timariots, which were dispersed all along the seacoasts.

By these extracts from the canon name, it follows that the whole Turkish government was maintained with less than sixty millions of our livres in ready money; and this expense, which has not been much increased since 1683, is not one-third of what is paid in France and England, for the national debt; but then there is a much greater circulation in these two kingdoms, and trade is much more lively than in Turkey.

But what is shocking, confiscations are reckoned a principal article in the sultan's private revenues. One of the ancient acts of tyranny established is that the possessions of a family belong to the sovereign, when the father has been condemned. A sultan has the head of his vizier brought to him, and this head

brings him sometimes several millions. Nothing can be more horrible than a right which sets such a price upon cruelty, and gives a temptation for murder and injustice.

As to the movable effects of the officers of the porte, we have already observed that they belong to the sultan by an ancient usurpation, which has been but too long a custom even among Christians. Public administration throughout the universe has been frequently nothing but an authorized robbery; except in some republican states, where the rights of liberty and property have been held more sacred, and the revenues of the state, by being moderate, were more easily and better managed; because the eye can easily take in small objects, whereas those which are too great confound the sight.

It may be presumed then, that the Turks have executed great things at a very small expense. The appointments annexed to the greatest dignities are very small, as we may judge by the mufti's place, which is worth only two thousand aspres a day, which is not the tenth part of the revenue of the archbishopric of Toledo. It is the same with respect to the place of grand vizier, which, without confiscations and presents, would be much more honorable than lucrative.

The Turks have not made war, as the princes of Europe do at present, by the means of money and negotiations. Strength of body and the fury of the janissaries have established this empire, without the

help of discipline, which still supports itself by the abject condition of the conquered people, and the jealousies of neighboring nations.

The sultans have never brought more than one hundred and forty thousand combatants into the field at one time, if we except the multitudes which followed their camp. But this number was still superior to all that the Christians would oppose to them.

CHAPTER CXXXII.

THE BATTLE OF LEPANTO.

THE Venetians, who, after having lost the island of Cyprus, still continued to trade with the Turks, and still ventured to treat them as enemies, applied for assistance to all the princes of Christendom, whom common interest should have united in their cause. This was a cause which should have raised another Crusade; but by having exhausted themselves in so many needless ones before, of which we have already taken notice, they would not now engage in one that was really necessary. Pope Pius V. did what was much better than preaching a Crusade; he had the courage to declare war against the Ottoman Empire, by entering into a league with the Venetians and Philip II. of Spain. And now for the first time, St. Peter's standard was displayed against the crescent, and the galleys of Rome encountered the Ottoman fleet. This single action of the pope's, which was

the last of his life, is alone sufficient to render his memory sacred.

We must not form an idea of this pontiff from the pictures embellished by the pencil of flattery, blackened by the strokes of malignity, or sketched by a luxuriant fancy. We should judge of men only from facts. Pius V., whose family name was Gisleri, was one of those men whom merit and fortune have drawn from obscurity, and raised to the first rank among princes. By his furious zeal, he added to the severity of the Inquisition; and the cruel death which he inflicted upon several citizens shows him to have been of a harsh and cruel disposition. The intrigues he put in practice to raise the Irish against Queen Elizabeth, and the warmth with which he fomented the troubles in France; his famous bull *in cœna Domini,* which he ordered to be published every year, show that his zeal for the greatness of the papal see was not conducted with moderation. He had formerly been a Dominican friar; and the natural severity of his character had been increased by that morose spirit which is bred in a cloister. But this man, though bred among monks, had, like Sixtus V., some royal virtues, which are not confined to a throne, but depend on the character and disposition.

Pius V. served as a model to the famous pope Sixtus V., who copied the example of this pontiff, and, in the space of a few years, amassed by prudent savings a sufficient treasure to make the holy see

considered as a respectable power. By these savings he was enabled to send a large fleet of galleys to sea. His zeal made him indefatigable in soliciting all the princes of Christendom for their assistance, but he met only with delays, or excuses of inability.

He vainly applied to Charles IX. of France, to the emperor Maximilian, to Sebastian, king of Portugal, and to Sigismund II. of Poland. Charles was in alliance with the Turks, and besides had no ships to send. The emperor Maximilian stood in fear of the Ottoman power, and wanted money; he had made a truce with the Turks, and did not dare to break it. Don Sebastian of Portugal was as yet too young to exercise that valor which afterward proved his ruin on the coast of Barbary. Poland was drained by her wars with the Russians, and Sigismund was enfeebled with age. There was then only Philip II. who took part with the pope in his design. He alone, of all the Catholic princes, was sufficiently rich to assume the prodigious expense of the necessary armament; and was alone able, by the good regulations of his government, to carry this project to a speedy execution. He was principally interested in this, through the necessity there was of securing his Italian dominions and the places he possessed on the coast of Barbary from the insults of the Ottoman fleet; accordingly he entered into alliance with the Venetians, though always their secret enemy in Italy, against the Turks, whom he feared still more.

Never was so large an armament fitted out with so much expedition. Two hundred galleys, six large galeasses, twenty-five ships of war, with fifty sail of transports, were all ready in the ports of Sicily by the month of September, which was less than five months after the taking of Cyprus. Half of this armament was furnished by Philip. The Venetians were at the expense of two-thirds of the other half, and the rest was supplied by the pope. The command of the fleet was given to the famous Don John of Austria, son of the emperor Charles V., and Marc Antonio Colonna commanded under him, in the pope's name. The house of Colonna, so long the inveterate foe to the popes, was now the chief prop of their power. Sebastian Veniero, whom we call Venier, was admiral of the Venetian fleet. There had been three doges of his family; none of whom equalled him in reputation. Barbarigo, whose family was in no less esteem in Venice, was proveditor, or intendant, of the fleet. The Maltese sent three galleys, which were the most they could furnish. The Genoese, who feared Selim less than they did Philip II., and sent but one single galley, hardly deserve to be mentioned.

Historians tell us that there were no less than fifty thousand fighting men on board this fleet. Nothing but exaggerations are to be found in the accounts of battles. A fleet of two hundred and six galleys and twenty-five other ships could not contain at most more than twenty thousand fighting men.

The Turkish fleet alone was stronger than the three Christian squadrons all together; it was composed of about two hundred and fifty galleys. The two fleets met in the Gulf of Lepanto, the ancient Naupactus, not far from Corinth. Never since the famous battle of Actium had so numerous a fleet been seen in the Grecian seas, nor so memorable an engagement. The Turkish galleys were worked by Christian slaves, and the Christian galleys by Turks, who were, against their wills, obliged to serve against their country.

The two fleets engaged with all the ancient and modern weapons of offence; such as arrows, long javelins, grenades, grappling-irons, cannon, muskets, spears, and sabres. Most of the galleys were grappled together, and the soldiers fought hand to hand on their decks, as on a field of battle. At length on Oct. 5, 1571, the Christians gained the victory, which was the more glorious, as being the first of its kind.

Don John of Austria and the Venetian admiral, Veniero, attacked the ship which carried the Turkish admiral, Ali, who was taken with his galley, and his head struck off and hoisted upon his own flag-staff. This was abusing the rights of war; but those who had braved Bragadino in Famagosta did not deserve better treatment. The Turks lost over one hundred and fifty ships in this engagement. It is difficult to tell the number of slain: some make them fifteen thousand; about five thousand Christian cap-

tives were set at liberty. Venice celebrated this victory with such feasts as she alone was capable of giving at that time. Constantinople was in the utmost consternation; and Pope Pius V., when he received the news of this signal victory, the honor of which was ascribed to the generalissimo, Don John, but in which the Venetians had the greatest share, cried out in a transport of joy: "There was a man sent from God, and his name was John;" words which were afterward applied to John Sobieski, king of Poland, when he delivered Vienna.

Don John of Austria now acquired suddenly the greatest reputation that any general had yet enjoyed. Every nation reckons its own heroes, and passes by in silence those of other nations. Don John, as the avenger of Christendom, was the hero of all nations. He was now compared to his father, Charles V., whom he resembled in other respects. But he was still more deservedly the idol of the people when, two years afterward, he took Tunis, as his father had done, and like him set up an African king, who was a vassal to Spain. But what were the advantages gained by the battle of Lepanto, and the taking of Tunis? The Venetians gained no ground of the Turks, and in 1574 Selim II. retook the kingdom of Tunis without resistance, when all the Christians who were found there were massacred: so that the victory of Lepanto seemed rather to have been on the side of the Turks.

CHAPTER CXXXIII.

THE COAST OF BARBARY.

THE coast of Barbary, from Egypt to the kingdoms of Fez and Morocco, formed an addition to the Turkish Empire; but it was rather under the protection than dominion of the sultans.

The country of Barca, with its deserts, formerly so famous for the temple of Jupiter Ammon, was under the government of the pasha of Egypt. Cyrenaica had a governor to itself. Tripoli, which is the next state west, was taken by Peter of Navarre in the reign of Ferdinand the Catholic, in 1510, and given by Charles V. to the Knights of Malta. But Selim's admirals made themselves masters of it, and in process of time it has been converted into a kind of republican government, at the head of which is a general called the Dey, who is chosen by the militia.

Farther on you meet with Tunis, the ancient abode of the Carthaginians. You have seen that Charles V. gave a king to this state, and rendered it tributary to Spain; that this son, Don John of Austria, took it again from the Moors with equal glory; and that Selim II. reduced it once more to the Turkish dominion, and exterminated all the Christians, three years after the famous battle of Lepanto. This province was afterward changed into the same kind of government as that of Tripoli.

Algiers, which bounds the Turkish Empire in Africa, is the ancient Mauritania, so famous for its kings, Juba, Massinissa, and Syphax. It is with difficulty that we can now perceive the ruins of Cirta, its capital city, any more than those of Carthage, Memphis, or even of Alexandria, which is no longer in the place where it was built by Alexander. This kingdom of the great Juba had become so inconsiderable that Cheredin Barbarossa preferred the title of the grand seignior's admiral to that of king of Algiers, and ceded this province to Solyman,[1] since which time till the beginning of the seventeenth century Algiers was governed by pashas sent thither from the Ottoman Porte. But at length the same form of government that had been established at Tripoli and Tunis was instituted at Algiers, now a retreat for corsairs.

Constantinople was always looked upon as the

[1] Cheredin, or rather Khair-ed-Deen Barbarossa, being apprehensive of fresh invasions from Spain, thought it convenient to put his kingdom under the protection of the grand seignior, who appointed him viceroy and sent him a reinforcement of Turkish janissaries, in 1519. When he sailed up the Levant as captain pasha, or Turkish admiral, he left the administration of Algiers to Hassan Aga Sardo, whom he had taken in his infancy from the island of Sardinia, caused to be castrated, and educated under his own eye. This Hassan succeeded him as viceroy of Algiers, and reigned with great reputation for justice and humanity. At his decease the council and militia of Algiers, without waiting for orders from the Porte, unanimously elected for their dey a Turkish officer, called Hagi.

capital of all these states, and indeed she seems formed by her situation to command them all. She has Asia in her front, and Europe behind her; her port, which is as secure as it is capacious, commands the entrance of the Black Sea to the eastward, and of the Mediterranean to the westward. Rome, which is far inferior in point of situation, being placed in a barren soil and in a corner of Italy, where nature has formed no convenient harbor, seemed much less proper to be the mistress of nations; and yet she became the capital of an empire of thrice the extent of that of the Turks: the reason is, that the Romans exceeded all other nations in military discipline; whereas the Turks, after they conquered Constantinople, found almost all the rest of Europe as well acquainted with the art of war and better disciplined than themselves.

CHAPTER CXXXIV.

THE KINGDOM OF FEZ AND MOROCCO.

THE grand seignior's protection does not extend so far as the empire of Morocco, which is a vast country, including part of Mauritania Tingitana. Tangiers was the capital of the Roman colony in this part. From this country came those Moors who conquered Spain. It was conquered itself by the Portuguese toward the end of the fifteenth century, by whom it was in latter times bestowed on Charles II. of England, in dowry with an infanta of Portu-

gal. This monarch afterward ceded it to the kings of Morocco. Few cities have experienced more revolutions than Tangiers.

The empire of Morocco is peopled by the ancient Moors, by a few Arabian Bedouins, who followed the caliphs in their conquests, and who still live in tents like their ancestors, by the Jews who were driven out of Spain by Ferdinand and Isabella, and by blacks, who dwell on the other side of Mount Atlas. In all the houses and the armies throughout this empire you see a mixture of whites, blacks, and a mongrel breed. These people have in all times carried on a trade with Guinea. They travelled over the deserts to those coasts whither the Portuguese went by sea. They never knew the sea otherwise than as the element of pirates. In short, all the vast coast of Africa, from Damietta to Mount Atlas, was altogether barbarous; while several of our northern nations, who were formerly more barbarous than they, acquired the politeness of ancient Greece and Rome.

CHAPTER CXXXV.

PHILIP II., KING OF SPAIN.

After the reign of Charles V., four great potentates held the balance of power between the other European states of Christendom; Spain, by the riches of the new world; France, by her own power and in virtue of her situation, which prevented the vast

dominions of Philip II. from communicating with one another; Germany, by the number of its princes, which, though always at variance among themselves, were always united for the defence of their country; and England, after the death of Mary, solely by the conduct of its queen, Elizabeth; for as a kingdom it was very inconsiderable, since Scotland was so far from making a joint body with it that it was its enemy, and Ireland was only an expensive honor.

The kingdoms of the North had not yet entered into the political system of Europe, and Italy could not be a weighty power. Philip II. seemed to have this state under his command. Philibert, duke of Savoy, who was governor of the Netherlands, was wholly at his service. Charles Emanuel, the son of this Philibert, and son-in-law of Philip II., was equally dependent on him. The duchy of Milan and the two Sicilies, of which he was in possession, together with the immense treasures which flowed in upon him from his acquisitions in the new hemisphere, made the rest of the Italian states tremble for their liberties. In short, Philip II. acted the chief part in the theatre of Europe, though not the most approved. Many less powerful sovereigns, who were contemporary with him, have left a much greater name behind them, as Elizabeth and Henry IV., especially the latter. His generals and his enemies were more esteemed than himself. The names of Alexander Farnese and of the princes of Orange are

infinitely superior to his. Posterity makes a great difference between power and glory.

To form a thorough knowledge of the times of Philip II. we must in the first place make ourselves acquainted with his character, which was partly the cause of all the great events of the age he lived in, and which is only to be discovered by facts, without relying upon the pens of contemporary writers, who were for the most part guided either by flattery or hatred. As for the far-fetched descriptions which some of our modern historians give of the personages of antiquity, they are fit only for romances.

Those who have compared Philip II. with Tiberius most certainly never saw either. In the first place, when Tiberius commanded the Roman legions and sent them forth to battle, he was always at their head, but Philip was in a chapel between two Franciscan friars at the time that the prince of Savoy and Count Egmont, whom he afterward executed on a scaffold, gained the famous battle of St. Quentin for him. Tiberius was neither a hypocrite nor an enthusiast. Philip frequently embraced the crucifix while he was giving orders for a murder. Neither did the Roman and the Spaniard resemble each other in their debaucheries; nay, that very dissimulation by which both were so much distinguished appears to have been different in the one and the other. That of Tiberius seems to have been more crafty, that of Philip more reserved. We shall make a distinction between speaking in order to deceive and

being silent in order to be impenetrable. Both of them seem to have had a calm and deliberate cruelty; but how many princes and men in public stations have deserved the same reproach?

To form a just idea of Philip, let us ask ourselves what kind of king he must be who, while he affected an outside of piety, was publicly reproached by William, prince of Orange, in his manifesto, with having been privately married to Doña Isabella Osoria, at the same time that he espoused his first wife, Mary of Portugal. He is accused by the same prince of Orange in the face of all Europe with having murdered his own son, and poisoned his third wife, Isabella of France, and with having obliged the prince of Ascoli to marry a woman whom he himself had got with child. We should not depend upon the testimony of an enemy; but then this enemy was a prince generally esteemed in Europe. He sent a copy of a manifesto containing these accusations to every court. Was it pride or consciousness of the truth which prevented Philip from making a reply? Could he possibly despise this dreadful manifesto of William's, as one despises the nameless libels of obscure vagabonds, which even private persons disdain to answer, and which Louis XIV. always suffered to pass unheeded? To these accusations let us add his too well authenticated amours with the wife of his favorite, Ruy Gomez, the murder of Escovedo, and the persecution of Antonio Perez, who had assassinated him by his order: let us

remember at the same time that this was the man who talked of nothing but his zeal for religion, and who sacrificed everything to this zeal.

Let us oppose to these actions his careful attention to the administration of justice throughout his kingdom, an attention which cost no more than the trouble of willing, and strengthens the authority of the prince, his readiness in the cabinet, his strict application to public business, his perpetual watchfulness over the conduct of his ministers, ever attended with distrust; the attention with which he examined into everything himself, so far as a king possibly could; his constant endeavors to foment divisions among his neighbors, and to preserve the peace of Spain; his minute observations of all that passed in one-half of the globe, from Mexico to the extremity of Sicily; and that austere composure of countenance which neither disappointments in politics, nor the tumult of the passions could ever ruffle, and we may then form some idea of the character of Philip II.

But we must now see what ascendency he had in Europe. He was master of Spain, of the duchy of Milan, of the two Sicilies, and of all the Netherlands. His ports were filled with ships: and his father had left him the best disciplined and most valiant troops in Europe, all commanded by persons who had been the companions of his victories. His second wife, Mary, queen of England, wholly governed by his insinuations, had condemned all her

Protestant subjects to the flames, and declared war against France only upon a letter from him. He might therefore reckon England as a kingdom of which he was the master. The ample harvests of gold and silver which were sent him from the new world made him a more powerful prince than his father, Charles V., who had only enjoyed the first-fruits of them.

Italy trembled for her liberty, which determined Pope Paul IV., whose name was Caraffa, and who was a native of Spain, to side with France, as his predecessor, Clement VII., had done. He was desirous, like all the other popes who had gone before him, of settling a balance which their hands were too weak to hold; and accordingly proposed to Henry II. to give Naples and Sicily to one of the children of France.

It had always been the ambition of the Valois family to subdue the duchy of Milan and the kingdom of the two Sicilies. The pope had thoughts of raising an army, and desired Henry II. to let him have the famous Francis, duke of Guise, to command it; but most of the cardinals were in Philip's pay. Pope Paul was ill-obeyed, he had but few troops, which served only to expose Rome to be taken and sacked by the duke of Alva, Philip's general, as it had not long before been by Charles V. The duke of Guise arrived, marched through Piedmont, where the French were still in possession of Turin, and drew near to Rome with a few men-at-arms; but no sooner

had he reached that city than he heard that the French had lost the fatal battle of St. Quentin in Picardy, Aug. 10, 1557.

Mary of England had furnished her husband with eight thousand English forces against the French. Philip came to London to see these troops embark, but not to head them himself. This army, joined with the flower of the Spanish troops, commanded by the duke of Savoy, Philibert Emanuel, one of the greatest generals in his age, gained so complete a victory over the French army at St. Quentin that hardly any of their infantry was left, the whole being either killed or taken; the victors lost only eighty men: Constable de Montmorency and almost all the general officers were taken prisoners: the duke d'Enghien was mortally wounded, the flower of the nobility destroyed, and all France plunged in mourning and consternation. The defeats of Crécy, Poitiers, and Agincourt had not been more fatal, and yet France, so often on the brink of ruin, still rose superior to its distresses.

All the schemes of Henry II. against Italy were now frustrated; the duke of Guise was called home. In the meantime the victorious duke of Savoy took St. Quentin, and he might have marched to the gates of Paris, which Henry was now fortifying in the utmost haste, and consequently very deficiently. But Philip contented himself with paying a visit to his victorious camp, and proved by his conduct that great events depend frequently upon the characters

of men. His character was to give little credit to courage, and give all to politics. He suffered his enemy to recover breath, in hopes of gaining more advantage from a peace, the terms of which were in his power to dictate, than by those victories in which he could have no share himself. He allowed the duke of Guise time to return home to assemble an army and put the kingdom in a state of defence.

At that time it seemed as if kings did not think themselves made to do their own business. Henry II. appointed the duke of Guise viceroy of France, under the title of lieutenant-general of the kingdom; in which station he had precedence of the constable.

The taking of Calais and the adjacent country in the depth of winter, and in the midst of the general consternation with which the defeat of St. Quentin had overwhelmed France, and the driving of the English from the possession of that important fortress which they had kept for some two hundred and thirteen years, was an action which astonished all Europe, and raised the reputation of the duke of Guise above that of all the generals of his time. This conquest was more glorious and profitable than difficult.[1] Queen Mary had left but a weak garrison

[1] Philip, who had by this time quitted England, sent intimation to Mary that the court of France had projected a scheme against Calais, and offered to supply her with troops for its defence; but Mary's council considered this proposal as an expedient of Philip to get possession of Calais. They

in Calais, and her fleet arrived only to see the standards of France planted on the walls. This loss, which was chiefly owing to her ministry, completed the aversion which the English had entertained to Mary.

But while the duke of Guise thus revived the drooping spirits of the French by the taking of Calais, and afterward of Thionville, Philip's army gained another considerable victory over Marshal de Termes, near Gravelines, under the command of Count Egmont; that very Count Egmont whom Philip afterward caused to be beheaded for defending the rights and liberties of his country.

The loss of so many pitched battles sustained by the French, while at the same time they took such a number of towns by assault, affords reason to believe that this nation was then, as in the time of Julius Cæsar, formed rather for impetuous attacks than that regular discipline and art of rallying which frequently determine the victory in the open field.

Philip made no greater advantage of the victory of Gravelines than he had done of that of St. Quentin; but he made the glorious Peace of Cateau-Cambrésis in 1559, by which, for the town of St. Quentin and the two villages of Ham and Châtelet, which he restored to the French, he got the strongholds of Thionville, Marienburg, Mont-

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not only declined his offer, but also neglected to put the place in a state of defence, notwithstanding the repeated solicitations of Lord Wentworth, the governor.

médy, Hedin, and the county of Charolais in full sovereignty. He made them destroy Terouane and Ivoi; obliged them to restore Bouillon to the bishop of Liège; Montferrat to the duke of Mantua; Corsica to the Genoese; Savoy, Piedmont, and Bresse to the duke of Savoy, and reserved a power to himself of keeping troops in Vercelli and Asti until the pretended claims of France upon Piedmont should be adjusted, and Henry should have evacuated the towns of Turin, Pinerolo, Chieri, and Chivasso.

As to Calais and the adjacent country, Philip gave himself very little concern. His wife, Mary of England, was dead; and Elizabeth had succeeded to the throne. Nevertheless, the French king obliged himself to restore Calais in eight years, and to pay eight hundred thousand gold crowns, in case it was not given up at the end of this term. It was at the same time specified in the most express terms, that whether the eight hundred thousand crowns were paid or not, Henry and his successors should still be obliged to restore Calais.

This peace has always been considered as the most glorious action of Philip's reign. Father Daniel attempts in vain to find out certain advantages in it for the French by pretending that Metz, Toul, and Verdun were preserved by this peace. They were never thought of in this treaty of Cateau-Cambrésis. Philip never paid the least attention to the concerns of Germany, and very little to those of his uncle Ferdinand, whose refusal to abdicate in his

favor he could never forgive. If, therefore, France gained anything by this treaty, it was by being entirely discouraged from any further designs of conquering Milan and Naples. With regard to Calais, France never restored this key of the kingdom to her ancient enemies, nor yet paid the eight hundred thousand gold crowns.

This war, like so many others, ended at last in a marriage. Philip espoused for his third wife Princess Isabella, daughter of Henry II., who had been promised to Don Carlos; and this unhappy match is said to have occasioned the untimely fate of Don Carlos and the princess.

Philip, after these glorious beginnings, returned to Spain in triumph, without having once drawn his sword. Everything seemed to favor his greatness: he had obliged Pope Paul IV. to sue for peace, which he granted. Henry II., his father-in-law and natural enemy, had lately been killed at a tournament, and had left his kingdom full of factions, and governed by foreigners under an infant king. Philip, without stirring out of his cabinet, was the most formidable and powerful prince in Europe. He had but one thing to apprehend, which was, that the Protestant religion should insinuate itself into some of his dominions, especially those of the Low Countries bordering upon Germany, where he did not govern as king, but only as duke, count, marquis, and private nobleman; and where the fundamental laws

of the country prescribed bounds to the royal authority.

The grand principle of Philip's politics was to have the papal see under his own management, by showing it all possible marks of outward respect, and everywhere exterminating the Protestants. There were very few of these people in Spain. However, he made a solemn vow before a crucifix to destroy them all; a vow which he fully accomplished through the hearty assistance given him by the Inquisition. All who were suspected of being Protestants were burned in a slow fire at Valladolid, and Philip himself beheld their torments from his palace windows, and heard their cries without the least remorse. The archbishop of Toledo and Father Constantine Pontius, chaplain and confessor to Charles V., were both shut up in the dungeons of the Inquisition, and Pontius was burned in effigy after his death, as we have already remarked.

Philip, having been informed that there were certain heretics inhabiting a valley of Piedmont, in the neighborhood of the duchy of Milan, gave orders to the governor of that state to send a body of troops thither, and wrote this short letter to him in his own hand: "To the gibbet with them all." Having heard also that this new opinion had insinuated itself into some places in Calabria, he gave orders to put all the sectaries to the sword, except sixty, of which number one half were to be hanged, and the other

burned alive. This order was obeyed with a cruel exactness.

But these excessive cruelties, and the abuse of his authority at length weakened his immense power; for had he catered to his Flemish subjects he would never have had the mortification of seeing the republic of the seven United Provinces formed wholly by his persecutions. He would have saved the enormous sums which this revolution cost him; and afterward when all Portugal, together with its acquisitions in Africa and India, was added to his vast dominions, and France distracted by its civil wars was on the point of receiving laws from him, and taking his daughter for its queen, he might have compassed the most noble designs, had he not been prevented by the fatal war which his rigorous administration had kindled in the Netherlands.

CHAPTER CXXXVI.

THE UNITED PROVINCES.

If we consult the several accounts of the foundation of this state, which was before practically unknown, and in a short space of time became so formidable, we shall find that it was formed without design and against all the rules of probability. The revolution began in the inland provinces of Brabant and Flanders, which were the only ones, however, that remained in subjection; while a little corner of the world, almost buried under water, and which

throve only by its herring fishery, became a formidable power, opposed Philip II., stripped his successors of almost all their possessions in the East Indies, and in the end became the protectors of them.

It cannot be denied that Philip II. was himself the cause of the people making so great a figure, which they themselves certainly never thought of doing; and that all their greatness was entirely owing to this monarch's cruelty and despotism.

It is necessary to consider; 1, That every nation is not governed on the same plan; 2, That the Low Countries were an assemblage of several lordships, which all belonged to Philip II. under different titles; that each of these had its particular laws and customs. 3, That in Friesland, and in the country of Groningen, a tribute of sixty thousand crowns was all that was due to the lord. 4, That no taxes could be laid on any of the cities. 5, That no employments were to be bestowed on any but the natives; nor were any foreign troops to be kept in pay. 6, That no alteration could be made in the constitution without the consent of the three orders of the state. It was declared by the ancient constitutions of Brabant: "That if the sovereign by violence or artifice should go about to infringe the privileges, the estates should be wholly absolved from their oath of allegiance, and at full liberty to act in such manner as to them should seem most convenient." This had for a long time been the prevailing form of government in the greater part of Europe; no law was

carried into execution nor any moneys raised without the sanction of the assembly of the states. A governor of the province presided at these assemblies in the prince's name, which governor was called a stadtholder, that is, the holder of the states throughout all the German Netherlands.

Philip II. in 1559 gave the government of the provinces of Holland, Zealand, Friesland, and Utrecht to William of Nassau, prince of Orange. It is to be observed that this title of prince did not signify prince of the empire. The principality of the city of Orange, which had fallen to his family from the house of Châlons as a donation, had been an ancient fief of the kingdom of Arles, now independent. William derived a more illustrious rank from the imperial house, from which he was descended; but, although this house, which was as ancient as that of Austria, had given an emperor to Germany, it was not included in the rank of princes of the empire. The title of "Prince," which did not begin to be used till the reign of Frederick II., was taken only by the greater feudal lords. The imperial blood conferred no right nor honors, and the son of an emperor, not possessed of lands, was only emperor if elected; and if he did not succeed his father on the throne he was no more than a private gentleman. William of Nassau was a count of the empire, as Philip II. was count of Holland, and lord of Malines; but he was still subject to Philip in quality of stadtholder.

Philip wanted to be absolute sovereign in the Low Countries, as he was in Spain. He was a man, and that was enough to make him conceive such a design: those in power are always desirous of removing all obstacles which limit them in the exercise of that power. But Philip had yet another advantage in view, by making himself absolute in a rich and large country that bordered so closely on France. He might, in this case, have been able at least to have dismembered that kingdom forever. And this was the more probable, since, after losing seven provinces, and being frequently very much cramped in the others, he was still on the point of subduing it, without ever having been at the head of an army himself.

In 1565 he endeavored to abrogate all the laws, to impose arbitrary taxes, to create new bishops, and to establish the office of the Inquisition, which he had never been able to introduce in Naples or Milan. The Flemish are naturally good subjects, but bad slaves. The fear of the Inquisition alone made more Protestants than all the writings of Calvin, among a people whose natural disposition inclined them neither to novelty nor insurrections. The principal lords of Brussels were the first who joined together to make a representation of their rights to the regent of the Netherlands, Margaret of Parma, daughter of Charles V. The court of Madrid called their meeting a conspiracy; but in the Low Countries it was deemed a legal act. It is certain that the con-

federates were not rebels, since they sent the count de Berg, and Montigni, lord of Montmorency, to Spain to lay their complaints before the king. They desired that Cardinal de Granvelle, the prime minister, whose intrigues they dreaded, might be banished. The court sent the duke of Alva against them, with a body of Spanish and Italian troops, and with orders to make as much use of executioners as soldiers. What is in other places the most speedy method of stifling a civil war was here the very occasion of raising one. William of Nassau, prince of Orange, surnamed the Silent, was almost the only one who thought of taking up arms; the rest of his countrymen entertained no thoughts but those of submission.

There are certain proud and gloomy minds possessed of the most sedate and stubborn intrepidity, which difficulties only serve to irritate. Such was the character of William the Silent, and after him of his great-grandson, the prince of Orange, king of England. William the Silent had neither money nor troops sufficient to oppose so powerful a monarch as Philip II. But persecution furnished him with both. The office of the Inquisition, newly set up at Brussels, had driven the people to desperation. The counts of Egmont and Horn and eighteen other gentlemen had their heads struck off, and their blood was the first cement of the republic of the United Provinces.

The prince of Orange, who had retired into Ger-

many, after having been condemned to lose his head, could not hope to arm any but Protestants in his cause; and to do this it was necessary that he should be a Protestant himself. Calvinism was the reigning religion of the maritime provinces of the Netherlands, and William was born a Lutheran. Charles V., who had an affection for him, had made him a Catholic; necessity now made him a Calvinist; for the princes who have established, protected, or changed religions have very rarely had any of their own. It was with great difficulty that William could raise an army; his lands in Germany were of little value, and the county of Nassau belonged to one of his brothers; but, by the interest of his brothers and friends, his own merit, and liberal promises, he found himself at length supplied with troops. These he sent into Friesland, under the command of his brother, Count Louis; his newly raised army was cut off, but this did not discourage him: he raised another, composed of Germans and French, whom a religious enthusiasm and the hopes of plunder engaged in his service. Fortune still continued to frown on him, and not being able to penetrate into the Netherlands, he was reduced to serve in the Huguenot armies in France. The severities of the Spanish court, however, furnished him with resources. The tax of the tenth penny on the sale of all personal estates, of the twentieth penny on real estates, and the hundredth on all estates in land, completely roused the resentment of the Flemish. How came it that the master

of Mexico and Peru was obliged to have recourse to such exactions? and why did not Philip, like his father, go in person into that country and put a stop to these troubles?

In 1570 the prince of Orange entered Brabant with a small army, and retreated afterward into Zealand and Holland. The city of Amsterdam, now so famous, was then a small town, and did not dare to declare openly for the prince of Orange; this city was at that time engaged in a new, and in appearance a mean trade, but which, however, laid the foundation of its present greatness. The catching of herrings, and the art of salting them, do not appear very important objects in the history of the world; and yet by these was this once barren and despised country raised to a formidable pitch of power. Venice had not more noble beginnings. The greatest empires were first raised from hamlets, and the maritime powers from a few private fishing boats.

The prince of Orange's whole dependence was in a few pirates; one of these surprised the *Brill;* Flushing was brought to declare in his favor by a curate. At length the states of Holland and Zealand assembled at Dordrecht, and the city of Amsterdam itself joined in his cause and declared him stadtholder; so that he now held that dignity from the people which he had before held of the king. After this they abolished the Roman Catholic religion, that their government might have nothing in common with that of the Spaniards.

These people, who had not for a long time been accounted of a martial disposition, became warriors in an instant. Never did two parties engage with more courage and fury. The Spaniards at the siege of Haarlem, in 1573, having thrown the head of one of the prisoners they had taken, into the town, the besieged threw them back the heads of eleven Spaniards, with this inscription in writing: "Ten heads for the payment of the tenth penny, and the eleventh for interest." Haarlem afterward yielded, when the conquerors ordered all the magistrates, the ministers, and over one thousand five hundred of the inhabitants of that city, to be hanged; this was treating the Netherlands as they had done the new world. In short, the pen falls from my hand when I consider how men have behaved toward men.

The duke of Alva, whose inhumanities had lost the king two provinces, was at length recalled. He is said to have boasted, on leaving the Netherlands, that he had put eighteen thousand persons to death by the hands of the executioners. The horrors of war were continued with equal fury under the new governor, the grand commander de Requesens. In 1574 the prince of Orange's army was again defeated, and his brother slain; but his party was strengthened by the animosity of the people, who, though naturally of a peaceable disposition, having once passed the bounds of temperance, knew not where to stop.

The siege and defence of Leyden — 1574-75 —

was one of the strongest instances of what may be effected by perseverance and the love of liberty. The Dutch ventured on the very same expedient which they afterward put in practice in 1672, when Louis XIV. was at the gates of Amsterdam; they open the sluices and let in the waters of the Yssel, the Meuse, and the ocean, which overflowed all the country, while a fleet of two hundred barks brought relief to the town, over the Spanish works. This prodigy was equalled by another on the side of the besiegers, who were so bold as to continue the siege, and to undertake to draw off this inundation. History does not furnish an instance of such an expedient in the besieged, nor of so great obstinacy in besiegers; but this obstinacy did them no service and Leyden still continues to celebrate the day of its deliverance. Here we must not forget to observe that at this siege the inhabitants made use of pigeons to convey letters to the prince of Orange, a practice which is common in Asia.

What, then, was the wise and so much boasted administration of Philip II. when we find that his own troops in Flanders mutinied for want of pay, and plundered the city of Antwerp, and that all the provinces of the Netherlands, without either consulting him or his governor, made a treaty of peace with the rebels, published a general amnesty, released prisoners, demolished the Spanish fortifications, and gave orders to pull down the famous statue of the duke of Alva, which his pride had raised to his

cruelty, and which was then standing in the citadel of Antwerp, of which Philip was master?

After the death of the grand commander de Requesens, Philip, instead of endeavoring to restore peace in the Netherlands by his presence, sent his brother, Don John of Austria, thither, a prince famous throughout all Europe for the glorious victory he gained over the Turks at Lepanto, and for his ambition in attempting to get himself made king of Tunis.

Philip did not love Don John; he feared his reputation, and was jealous of his designs. Nevertheless he made him, against his will, governor of the Netherlands, in the hope that he might be the means of regaining the allegiance of that people, who respected in this prince the blood and valor of Charles V. In this, however, he was deceived; the prince of Orange was proclaimed governor of Brabant in the city of Brussels, as soon as Don John had quitted it, after having been installed governor-general of the Netherlands. But this honor which they conferred on William hindered the provinces of Brabant and Flanders from recovering their liberty, as the Hollanders had done. There were too many great lords in those provinces; these were jealous of the prince of Orange, and this jealousy preserved ten provinces to the crown of Spain. They invited the archduke Matthias to be their governor-general, in conjunction with Don John of Austria. It is hardly conceivable how an archduke of Austria, a

near relative of Philip II. and a Catholic, came to put himself at the head of a party almost entirely composed of Protestants, against the chief of his house: but ambition knows no ties, and Philip was beloved neither by the emperor nor the empire.

All was then division and confusion. The prince of Orange, appointed by the states lieutenant-general to the archduke Matthias, necessarily became this prince's secret rival; both were rivals to Don John, and the states distrusted all three. Another party, equally discontented with the states and the three princes, completed the distractions of this wretched country. In 1578 the states published an edict for liberty of conscience, but there was no longer any cure for the rage of factions. Don John, after gaining a useless battle at Gemblours, died in the midst of these troubles, in the flower of his age.

This son of Charles V. was succeeded by a grandson no less illustrious; this was Alexander Farnese, duke of Parma, a descendant of Charles by the mother's side, and of Pope Paul III. by the father's, and he it was who afterward came to France to deliver Paris and give battle to Henry the Great. History does not furnish us with a more celebrated name, and yet this illustrious captain could not prevent the foundation of the seven united provinces, nor check the progress of this republic, which rose under his eyes.

These seven provinces, which we now call Holland, were, by the care of the prince of Orange,

brought, on Jan. 29, 1579, to form that union which at first appeared so brittle, and has since proved so durable, and by which seven states, though always independent of each other, and always having different interests to support, have yet been always as closely united in the great cause of liberty as the bundle of arrows which forms their arms and is their truest emblem.

This union of Utrecht, which was the foundation of the republic, was that of the stadtholdership likewise. William was declared chief of the seven united provinces under the title of captain, admiral-general, and stadtholder. The other ten provinces which, together with Holland, might have formed the most powerful republic in the world, did not join with the seven small united provinces. These latter were their own protectors, while Brabant, Flanders, and the rest, chose a foreign prince to defend them. Archduke Matthias being now of no further use, the states-general dismissed this son, the brother of emperors, who afterward was emperor himself, with a small pension, and sent for Francis, duke of Anjou, brother of Henry III. of France, with whom they had been in treaty for some time. These provinces were divided into four parties; that of Archduke Matthias, which was so weak that it could not prevent his dismission; that of the duke of Anjou, which afterward became so fatally powerful; that of the duke of Parma, which consisted only of some few of the great lords and

his own army, but which at length preserved ten provinces to the crown of Spain; and that of William of Nassau, which rent seven from it forever.

It was at this time that Philip, who still continued inactive in Madrid, proscribed the prince of Orange and set a reward of twenty-five thousand crowns upon his head. This method of commanding assassinations, unheard of since the time of the Roman triumvirate, had been practised in France against Admiral de Coligny, father-in-law to this William, the price of whose blood was fixed at fifty thousand crowns, though that of his son-in-law was rated at only half the price by Philip, who could afford to have paid a much greater. How great were the prejudices which still continued to reign at that time! The king of Spain, in his edict of proscription, acknowledges that he had violated the oath he had taken to the Flemings, and says the pope had granted him a dispensation from that oath. Did he think that this reason would make a strong impression on the minds of his Catholic subjects? Perhaps it might; but, on the other hand, how greatly must it exasperate the Protestants, and confirm them in their defection!

William's reply to this edict is the most beautiful piece of the kind we have in history. From a subject, which he had been, he became Philip's equal, from the instant of his being proscribed. In his apology we see a prince of an imperial house, not less ancient, nor formerly less illustrious than that of

Austria, and a stadtholder, who declares himself the accuser of the most powerful king in Europe, before the tribunal of every court, and of all mankind; and who shows himself far superior to Philip, because, having it in his power to proscribe him in his turn, he abhors such revenge, and depends upon his sword alone for his safety.

Philip's power was at this very time become more formidable than it ever had been; for he had made himself master of Portugal without stirring out of his cabinet, and still thought of reducing the United Provinces. William had on one hand the attempts of assassins to dread, and on the other the power of a new master, in the duke of Anjou, who had arrived in the Netherlands, and had been acknowledged by the people as duke of Brabant and count of Flanders. He was soon defeated by the duke of Anjou, as he had been by the archduke Matthias. This duke wanted to be absolute sovereign over a country that had chosen him for its protector. From the earliest ages we have seen conspiracies formed against princes, but here a prince conspired against the people. He attempted to surprise at once Antwerp, Bruges, and the other towns he came to defend. Fifteen hundred French were killed in the vain attempt to surprise Antwerp; he failed in his design upon the other places, and pressed by Alexander Farnese on one side, and hated by the people on the other, he withdrew into France, and left the prince of Orange and the duke of Parma to dispute the

Netherlands between them, which soon became the most illustrious theatre of war in Europe, and a military school, whither the brave of all countries repaired, to serve their apprenticeship in the field.

At length Philip was avenged on the prince of Orange by the hands of assassins. A Frenchman, named Salcede, had laid a plot for his life. One Jaurigni, a Spaniard, wounded him in 1583, with a pistol in Antwerp, and at length, in 1584, Balthazar Gérard, a native of Franche-Comté, murdered him in Delft, in the presence of his princess, who thus beheld her second husband slain by the hands of an assassin, after having lost her first, as well as her father, the admiral, in the fatal massacre of St. Bartholomew. This murder of the prince of Orange was not committed for the sake of the reward of twenty-five thousand crowns offered by Philip, but through a religious enthusiasm. The Jesuit Strada relates that Gérard continued to declare in the midst of his torments that he had been pushed on to commit this act by a divine instinct. He also says in express terms that Jaurigni, before that, did not undertake the murder of the prince of Orange, till he had purged his soul by confession at the feet of the Dominican fathers, and strengthened himself in his resolves by partaking of the consecrated bread. This was the vice of the times, and had been begun by the Anabaptists. A woman in Germany, during the siege of Münster, took it into her head to imitate Judith; she left the city with a design of lying with

the bishop, who was besieging the place, and of killing him in his bed. Poltrot de Meré assassinated the duke of Guise on the same principles; and the finishing stroke had been put to these horrors by the massacre of St. Bartholomew. The same spirit afterward caused the deaths of Henry III. and IV. of France, and formed the Gunpowder Plot in England. Examples of this kind, taken from Scripture, and first published from the pulpits by the reformers or innovators, and afterward too frequently by the Catholics, made a deep impression on weak and cruel minds, who thought they heard the voice of God commanding them to commit murder. Their blind and furious zeal did not let them comprehend that when God commanded the shedding of blood in the Old Testament, these orders were never obeyed, except when He Himself came from Heaven, and with His own lips dictated His decrees against the lives of men, of which He is the absolute master.

When William the Silent was murdered, he was on the point of being declared count of Holland. The conditions of this new dignity had been already stipulated by all the cities, except those of Amsterdam and Gouda. By this we may perceive that he had labored for himself at least as much as for the republic.

His son Maurice could not pretend to this principality: but the Seven United Provinces declared him stadtholder, and he strengthened the edifice of public liberty, which had been founded by his father.

As a general he was altogether worthy to enter the lists with Alexander Farnese: and these two great men immortalized themselves by their deeds on this confined theatre, where the scene of war attracted the eyes of all nations. Had the duke of Parma acquired no other reputation than that which he gained by the siege of Antwerp, he would have been deservedly reckoned among the greatest captains. The inhabitants of Antwerp defended themselves like the ancient Tyrians, and Farnese took Antwerp, as Alexander, whose name he bore, took the city of Tyre, by raising a dam on the deep and rapid river Scheldt; and thus reviving an example which was followed by Cardinal Richelieu at the siege of La Rochelle.

The new republic was obliged to implore the assistance of Elizabeth of England, who sent them four thousand men, under the command of the earl of Leicester. This was a sufficient reinforcement at that time. Prince Maurice had for a while a superior in the earl of Leicester, as his father had formerly in the duke of Anjou, and the archduke Matthias; this nobleman assumed the title and rank of governor-general, which, however, was soon afterward disavowed by his mistress. Maurice would never suffer an encroachment upon his dignity of stadtholder of the Seven United Provinces. Happy would it have been had he never attempted to go further.

During the whole course of this war, which lasted so long, and with such various successes, Philip had never been able to recover the Seven Provinces, nor

could his enemies deprive him of the others. The republic became every day so formidable by sea that she was not a little instrumental in destroying Philip's famous fleet, called the Invincible Armada. This people had for forty years resembled the Lacedæmonians, who had always repulsed the great king. There were the same manners, the same simplicity, and the same equality of conditions in Amsterdam as at Sparta, and a greater degree of sobriety. These provinces still resembled, in some things, the primitive ages of the world. Almost every Frieslander who has heard anything, knows that at that time the use of locks and keys was not known in Friesland. They had nothing more than the absolute necessaries of life, and these were not worth locking up; they were under no apprehension from their own countrymen, and they defended their flocks and harvests against the enemy. The dwellings in all the maritime provinces were no more than huts, where neatness made all the magnificence. Never was there a people less acquainted with delicacy. When Louisa of Coligny went to The Hague to be married to Prince William of Orange, an open post-wagon was sent to meet her, in which she made her entry seated on a plank. But, toward the latter end of Maurice's life, and in the time of his son, Frederick Henry, The Hague became an agreeable residence, by the concourse of princes, ministers of state, and general officers who resorted thither. Amsterdam rose by its trade alone to be the most

flourishing and opulent city on the globe, and the country people of the surrounding villages were enriched by the quantity of excellent pasture grounds that are in its neighborhood.

CHAPTER CXXXVII.

SEQUEL OF THE REIGN OF PHILIP II.— THE MISFORTUNES OF DON SEBASTIAN, KING OF PORTUGAL.

THE king of Spain seemed at that time able to crush the house of Nassau and the newly formed republic, beneath the weight of his power. He had indeed lost the sovereignty of Tunis in Africa, together with the port of Goletta, where Carthage formerly stood: but a king of Fez and Morocco, named Muley Mahomet, who then disputed the kingdom with his uncle, had offered to become his tributary in 1577, which offer Philip had refused, and this refusal gained him the crown of Portugal. The African prince went and threw himself at the feet of Don Sebastian, king of Portugal, to implore his assistance. This young monarch who was a great grandson of the famous Emanuel, burned with ardor to signalize himself in a part of the world where his ancestors had made so many conquests. What is very extraordinary is that Philip, who was Sebastian's uncle by the mother's side, and was soon to have given him his daughter in marriage, refused to assist him on this occasion, and that the prince of Orange, who could hardly keep his footing in Flan-

ders, furnished him with a body of troops. This circumstance, though trifling in a general history, serves to show the greatness of soul of the prince of Orange, and that he was determined to raise enemies against Philip in all parts of the world.

Don Sebastian landed at Arjila, in the kingdom of Fez, a town which had formerly been conquered by his ancestors. He had with him eight hundred vessels, and an army of fifteen thousand infantry, but not more than a thousand horse. It is probably on account of this small number of cavalry, in proportion to that of the Moors, that historians have condemned his undertaking as rash; but what encomiums would they have lavished upon him had he been successful! He was defeated, however, on Aug. 4, 1578, by the old king of Morocco, Malucco. In this battle there perished three kings, namely, the two kings of Morocco, the uncle and nephew, and Don Sebastian himself: in short, not a soul returned of the conquered army. And now, for the first time, a cardinal priest became a king; this was Don Henry, son of Emanuel, and great-uncle of Don Sebastian, who succeeded him, as the undoubted heir to the crown of Portugal.

Philip, however, immediately made preparations to succeed Sebastian himself; and, that everything in this affair might be extraordinary, Pope Gregory XIII. made himself one of the competitors, upon pretence that the kingdom of Portugal belonged to the holy see, in default of heirs in a right line,

because, as he pretended, Alexander III. had formerly created Count Alphonso king of that country, who, thereupon, acknowledged himself a feudatory of Rome. This was a strange reason. Pope Gregory, however, whose name was Boncompagno, had formed the design, or rather idle notion, of bestowing this kingdom on his bastard, Boncompagno; not being willing to dismember the ecclesiastical state to provide for him, as several of his predecessors had done. At first he entertained hopes of procuring the kingdom of Ireland for his son, because Philip was fomenting the troubles on that island, as Elizabeth did those in the Netherlands. Ireland having, as well as other kingdoms, been given by the popes, would necessarily revert to them, or their children, as soon as its sovereign was excommunicated. This scheme, however, did not succeed. The pope obtained a few ships and troops from Philip, which, together with a body of Italians under the pope's colors, made a descent upon Ireland; but they were all cut off, and the Irish who were in their interest were all hanged. Gregory XIII. then turned his views upon Portugal; but here he was opposed by Philip, who had a better right than himself, and was better able to support that right.

The old cardinal king lived just long enough to see juridically disputed before him the matter of who should be his heir, and then died. Antonio, prior of Crato, a knight of Malta, claimed the crown after the death of the priestly king, as being his

uncle by the father's side, whereas Philip was only his uncle by the mother's side. The prior was generally thought to be a bastard, but he insisted that he was born in lawful wedlock. However, neither the prior nor the pope succeeded. The family of Braganza also, who seemed to have a lawful claim to the succession, were neither so prudent or fearful at that time as not to take advantage of it; and an army of twenty thousand men put it out of doubt that Philip was the only lawful heir; in those times this was more than a sufficient force. The prior, who was unable to make any resistance himself, applied to the grand seignior for his assistance, but in vain. In short, there was nothing lacking to complete the oddity of this affair, but to see the pope applying to the Turks to make him king of Portugal.

Philip, as I have observed before, never made war in person. He now subdued Portugal from his closet. He recalled the old duke of Alva, whom he had banished two years before, after all his long services, and once more let him loose, like a blood-hound that had been chained up from carnage; and this bloody veteran finished his career of slaughter, by twice defeating the little army of the prior, who was now abandoned by everyone, and driven out to wander at a distance from his country.

Philip then repaired to Lisbon, and was crowned king of Portugal, after which he offered a reward of twenty thousand ducats to whoever should deliver

up Don Antonio. Proscriptions were the customary arms made use of by this monarch.

The prior of Catro at first took refuge in England, with a few companions of his misfortunes, who, destitute of everything, and ruined like himself, still continued to serve him upon the knee. This custom was first established by the German emperors, who succeeded the family of Charlemagne, and afterward introduced into Spain, when Alphonso X., king of Castile, was elected emperor in the thirteenth century. It has also been adopted by the kings of England, which seems rather contradictory to the haughty freedom of that nation. The kings of France, satisfied with the exercise of real power, have always despised it. The kings of Poland were served with this state on particular days, and yet have not been the more absolute.

Elizabeth was in no condition to fight the prior's battles. She was an implacable enemy to Philip, though not a declared one, and used every expedient in her power to oppose him, and raise him up enemies in secret. But she had no other method of maintaining herself on the throne but by the affections of her people, which she would have lost by pressing them for new subsidies; she therefore could not think of carrying the war into Spain.

Don Antonio then applied to the court of France. Henry III. and his council were at that time upon the same footing of jealousy and apprehension, with regard to Philip, as the queen of England. There-

was no open war between them; but an old grudge, and a mutual inclination to do each other bad offices; besides, Henry was continually perplexed between the Huguenots, who had formed another state within his, and Philip, who wanted to raise himself a party, by tendering his dangerous assistance to the Catholics.

Catherine de Medici had some pretensions upon Portugal, almost as chimerical as those of the pope. Now Don Antonio, by flattering these pretensions, and promising a part of that kingdom, which he could not recover for himself, or at least a part of the Azores, where he had a considerable party, found means, through Catherine's interest, to procure powerful aid. He was furnished with a fleet of sixty small vessels, and about six thousand men, the most of them Huguenots, whom the nation was glad to employ at a distance, and who were themselves still more pleased at going to fight against the Spaniards. The French, especially the Calvinistic party, were at that time eager for every opportunity of fighting. They followed the duke of Anjou in crowds, to settle him in Flanders; and embarked with the greatest alacrity to fix Antonio on the throne of Portugal.

In the beginning they made themselves masters of one of the Azores; but the Spanish fleet appeared, in 1583, greatly superior to that of the French, both in the bulk of their ships, and the number of troops; there were fifty large galleons, accompanied by

twelve row-galleys. This was the first time that galleys had been seen upon the ocean, and it is surprising how they were navigated a thousand leagues in rough seas. When Louis XIV., a long time afterward, sent a fleet of galleys to sea, it was looked upon as a new undertaking, and the first of its kind, though it certainly was not; however, it was a more dangerous one than that of Philip II., because the British ocean is much more stormy than the Atlantic.

This was the first naval fight which had occurred in that part of the world. The Spaniards gained the victory, and made a very cruel use of it; for the marquis of Santa Cruz, who was general of Philip's fleet, caused almost all the prisoners to be put to death, under pretence that war not being declared between France and Spain, he had a right to treat them as pirates. Don Antonio luckily saved himself by flight, and returned to France to be served upon the knee, and to end his days in poverty and wretchedness.

Philip now saw himself master not only of Portugal, but likewise of all the fine settlements which that nation had made in the Indies. But though he extended his dominions to the farther ends of America and Asia, he could not subdue the little republic of Holland.

In 1584 an embassy of four kings, which arrived at his court from Japan, seemed to complete the fulness of that supreme power, which made him con-

sidered as the first monarch in Europe. The Christian religion had made great progress in Japan, and the Spaniards had reason to flatter themselves with establishing their dominion in that empire, as well as their religion.

In Christendom he had the pope to keep fair with, as lord paramount of his kingdom of Naples. He had France to keep in continual distraction, which he succeeded in by means of the League and the immense sums he lavished; he had Holland to reduce, and commotions to raise in England. All these springs did he put in play at once, and soon afterward it appeared by the equipment of his Invincible Armada, that his design was rather to make the conquest of England, than merely to disturb its peace.

Queen Elizabeth certainly furnished him with sufficient reasons for his conduct. She protected the confederate states of the Netherlands with a high hand. Sir Francis Drake, at that time a private adventurer, had plundered several of the Spanish possessions in America, and passed the Strait of Magellan, and returned again to London in 1580, loaded with booty, after having made the tour of the globe. Another pretence, yet more weighty than these, was the captivity of Mary Stuart, queen of Scotland, whom Elizabeth had detained a prisoner eighteen years against the law of nations. This princess had all the Catholics of England in her interest; and had an apparent right to the English

crown; a right which she derived from Henry VII. by birth, the legitimacy of which could not be questioned like that of Elizabeth. Philip might also have prosecuted his own claim to the empty title of king of England; and, besides, by undertaking to deliver Mary from her confinement, he was certain of making the pope and all the Catholics of Europe his friends.

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